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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

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Art. I. 1. *A Vindication of the Proceedings of the Edinburgh Bible Society, relative to the Apocrypha, against the Aspersions of the Eclectic Review; in a Letter to the Members of the Committee of the Parent Institution.* 8vo. pp. 86. London. 1825.

2. *The Christian Guardian, Oct. 1825.* Art. Gorham on the Apocryphal Controversy, in Reply to the Eclectic Review.

IT is not without reluctance that we again call the attention of our readers to the Apocrypha question, more especially because, in returning to it, we shall have occasion to speak of ourselves. We owe it, however, to the Edinburgh Bible Society, to notice the present plausible and, upon the whole, temperate apology for their proceedings; and we wish to make one more effort to place the question in its true light.

The subject divides itself into two parts: first, the propriety of what has been done; and secondly, the rule by which the future proceedings of the Bible Society should be governed. The Committee of the Parent Society were accused of violating their original contract with the public, of acting in direct infringement on their own laws, of violating integrity of conscience, of doing evil that good may come. Now, whatever decision the Committee may come to on the pending question, these accusations we cannot but regard as alike groundless and uncourteous. Without laying claim to any 'professional zeal 'in defence of the Bible Society'—an imputation which sounds too much like an encomium for us to quarrel with it—we assuredly did feel ourselves called upon to vindicate the conduct of the Committee,—and this without having had the slightest communication with any member of the Committee on the subject. It was our object to shew,—and our readers will judge with what success—that they had not broken their faith with the public; that the fundamental law of the Institution left the Committee entirely at liberty with respect to foreign

versions ; that the rules were framed without any reference to the case which has arisen ; and that whatever may have been *taken for granted* by ‘the country subscribers,’ the rules do not prohibit the including of the Apocrypha in the foreign versions printed or circulated by the Bible Society. Of the intention of those who framed those rules, we could only speak conjecturally. We are now, indeed, told, that

‘It is unanimously declared by the survivors, the Rev. J. Pratt, the Rev. Dr. Bogue, the Rev. J. Townsend, the Rev. J. Hughes, and Mr. Z. Macauley, that the rules were expressly framed with the view of excluding the Apocrypha. *Mr. Hughes does not indeed so perfectly recollect whether foreign operations were contemplated in framing the rule so as to exclude the Apocrypha.* But this circumstance does not weaken our confidence in the memory and opinion of his able coadjutors.’

Surely, a rule cannot be so very clear or explicit, which requires to be interpreted by the memory of those who assisted in framing it. The Committee are bound by their rules, but not by the recollections of any of their members. That it was the intention of the founders of the Bible Society, to exclude the Apocrypha from the English Bible, we have not the smallest doubt, because on no other terms would the Presbyterians of Scotland or the Protestant Dissenters of England have given it their support. But even this intention is not expressed in the rule ; and if it had been, it is our firm belief, that umbrage would have been given, and that unanimity would by no means have been secured among the earliest patrons and supporters of the Society. This understood condition, then, this tacit compact, is all that the Committee can be charged with violating. But the question is, How far did this understanding extend ? Did it relate to foreign versions, and that under all circumstances ? On this point, here are conflicting views of the rule, and differing recollections about the intention of the rule, which could not exist if the case were clear, or the rule explicit. If the Committee have erred in judgement, let it be shewn. This is a matter of opinion. But to charge them, in the terms of the Edinburgh Statement, with a direct violation of the original contract of the Society with its members, is, we repeat it, a gross misrepresentation, implicating the integrity of the Parent Committee. As such, we indignantly deprecated it. No accusation could be more adapted to inflame the public mind, or to raise a clamour against the Society. And the circulating of this charge all over the country, as was done by the Edinburgh Committee, we must still maintain, wore the appearance of conduct dictated by strong irritation and vindictive feeling. Nor were we

singular in this opinion. It was entertained by many individuals who differed from us on the question at issue. For the venerable Vice-president of the Edinburgh Society who lent his name to the document, we entertain the most unfeigned respect; but we entertain an equal respect for the individuals implicated in the accusations put forward under his sanction; and while we readily allow, that his name 'stands too high to be injured by the breath of slander,' we must take the liberty of thinking that it stood higher before it was affixed to that document. Sensibility is sometimes not a little eccentric. While this 'Member of the Bible Society' is so much offended at what he calls the attack made on the Edinburgh Committee, he surely forgets the attack which was made by them on the London Committee. But when he charges the Eclectic Reviewer with descending to personalities, he himself defames. No particular individual of the Edinburgh Committee was, in the most distant manner, personally referred to.

Seeing, however, that different views have been taken of the latitude allowed by the rules of the Bible Society, while we think that the Committee have, up to this time, been fully justified in acting according to the discretion with which they conceived themselves to be invested, it is now highly necessary that the rule for their future proceedings should be distinctly and definitively laid down. What this rule should be, is the real question to be determined. The old rule left the giving or withholding of the Apocrypha to the discretion of the Committee. The alteration proposed, would deprive them of any liberty in this respect. To have a full and fair view of the question, it will be necessary to determine; first, whether it be lawful to circulate the Apocrypha with the canonical Scriptures; secondly, whether it be necessary; thirdly, whether it be expedient.

1. Is it lawful? The Vindicator puts the question thus: 'Can any *fancied* ideas of expediency justify the British and Foreign Bible Society in lending its sanction to a canon of Scripture, whose pretensions it knows to be false?' If they be '*fancied* ideas' of expediency, the question is easily answered; but we must, for the present, assume, that a strong apparent necessity exists for the concurrence which is so warmly deprecated. This '*fancied expediency*' has for its object, the spiritual illumination of millions of our fellow creatures who are destitute of the word of life. It is a part of the misrepresentation which, unhappily, has been employed by the objectors to the Apocrypha, to give to this object the name of *expediency*: and yet, they are well aware, that the only motive for giving the Apocrypha at all, by which the Committee have

been actuated, is, to promote the more extensive circulation of the Inspired Scriptures. But, we are not to ‘*do evil that good may come.*’ No Christian man will maintain the contrary. But what is meant by doing evil? If doing that which is *criminal* be intended, (which is the meaning of the Apostle,) it is completely begging the question, to apply the words to the practice under consideration. Let it be proved to be criminal, and the controversy is at an end, and we shall be, we trust, among the foremost to write our recantation. But there is a sense in which smaller evils must be tolerated for the sake of the greater good. It is an evil to break the Sabbath; but works of necessity and mercy are held to be a good so much greater as to sanction a departure from its strict observance. It was an evil, to give way to the prejudices of the Jews so far as St. Paul did, by circumcising Timothy; but the greater good prevailed over it in the mind of the Apostle: to the Jews he became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews. But we can add nothing to the force and conclusiveness of the Rev. Mr. Simeon’s reasoning on this point, who participates in the strange inconsistency ascribed by Mr. Gorham to the Eclectic Reviewer; namely, that of having decided objections to the Apocrypha, in any shape, while he vindicates the toleration of the foreign versions which include it among the Holy Scriptures. We say again, that the circulation of the Apocrypha incorporated, in any shape, with the Holy Scriptures, is a great evil,—one at which we would on no account connive, but for the sake of the greater good of circulating the Bible among those who will not otherwise receive it. Of course, though a great evil, we do not and cannot allow it to be a crime. We believe, on the contrary, that this compliance with the prejudices of the continental churches, is fully borne out by Scriptural principles; that it is not doing evil, but doing good, to give away the Bible even with the Apocrypha, and that, as both the design and the issue, good will come.

In combating the notion that we have a right to require from foreign churches an agreement with ourselves on the subject of the Canon, we remarked, that the import of the term canonical is a disputed point; that it has been too hastily assumed to be synonymous with inspired; that the inspiration of *all* the books of the *hagiographa* is by no means so clear as to ‘warrant our demanding an unqualified assent on this point from all Christian men.’ This statement, we regret to say, has been met by Mr. Gorham, not with argument, but with rudeness and gross misrepresentation. He terms it ‘an indecorous attack on the canon of Holy Scripture, and an attempt to undermine the integrity of the sacred volume.’ But before we

proceed to substantiate our original remark, we would wish it to be borne in mind, that our opinion on this subject, whether right or wrong, does not in the least affect the general argument. The whole of our reasoning takes it for granted, that our Canon of Scripture is genuine and complete; and, in the most explicit manner, we have expressed our repugnance to the incorporation of the Apocryphal with the Canonical books. Mr. Gorham wishes to divert the minds of his readers from the main argument; and, for this purpose, he fastens on the proposition above referred to, and affects a pious horror at a statement which he cannot controvert. The Eclectic Reviewer does not stand at his bar; but we should regret that any opinion of ours should be made the subject of debate, instead of the simple question, What have we a right to require of foreign churches as the terms of our co-operation in the circulation of the Holy Scriptures? The Parent Committee have acted as they have done, without entertaining a doubt as to the inspiration of the whole Protestant canon. Their conduct and their future practice, not ours, are the matter of debate; and the propriety of their conduct cannot be prejudiced by any heterodox notion which we may maintain.

Hoping that this may be distinctly understood, we proceed now to explain ourselves further on the point referred to.

Our leading position was, that 'the question of the Canon comes within the range of human opinion.' This, Mr. Gorham affects to deny; and yet, the absurdity of the contrary opinion is self-evident. In order, however, to give colour to his denial, he is guilty of a most disingenuous artifice.

'It is a great mistake,' he says, 'to imagine that the *inspiration* of Scripture is a matter which falls more within the range "of human opinion and private judgement," than does the *interpretation* of Scripture. It cannot be more binding upon the conscience to admit the Divine authority of a *doctrine*, than to allow the Divine origin of the *Book* containing that doctrine.'

Here Mr. Gorham attempts to shift the question from the genuineness of the Canon to the inspiration of Scripture itself; and he does this for the unworthy purpose of insinuating that the Eclectic Reviewer has thrown doubts on the Divine origin of the Bible. Is it possible that this can be any other than a wilful misrepresentation? The inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, the Reviewer holds as firmly as Mr. Gorham does; and this he knows. The only question is, whether the character of inspiration applies to *all* the books of the Old Testament,—the only books respecting which a doubt can be entertained, being of an historical or ethical kind, and not a single

doctrine being affected by either their reception or rejection as inspired. The inspiration of Scripture is an article of faith, not a matter of human opinion. But the Divine authority of any particular book of Scripture, or, in other words, its claim to be received as inspired, cannot be a matter of faith, because there is no inspired catalogue of the canonical books : it can, therefore, be determined only by the external or internal evidence which attaches to it ; and this evidence, it is within the province of human opinion to estimate.

Mr. Gorham is a Cambridge man, and as he cites Dr. Marsh, he has probably read his valuable Divinity Lectures : if so, he cannot be ignorant of the acknowledged distinction between the genuineness or authenticity and the inspiration of the books of Scripture. The authenticity and genuineness of *every* book of the Old Testament, is proved, as the Bishop has shewn, by a comparison of the catalogue of the Hebrew Scriptures which Jerome has given in his *Prologus Galeatus*, with the account given by Josephus in his treatise against Apion, taken in connexion with the testimony of our Lord to the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures. But this decisive proof of their authority in the sense explained, (that is, as including both their authenticity and their truth,) does not, in our view at least, establish the fact, that every such book was given by Inspiration. This subject, the Bishop has specially reserved for a future portion of his Lectures.

If, indeed, our Lord could be proved to have referred to the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures *as inspired*,—if his testimony implied thus much respecting every book in the Jewish canon, there could be no room for any question on the subject. The most express testimony borne by our Lord to the Books of the Old Testament, is contained in the text cited by Bishop Marsh in his “Comparative View :” “These are the words “which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all “things must be fulfilled which were written in the LAW OF “MOSES, and in THE PROPHETS, and in THE PSALMS, con-“cerning me.” We transcribe the learned Prelate’s remarks.
 Now it is well known, that the Jews divide the books of the Hebrew Bible into three classes. The *first* class contains the five books which compose THE LAW OF MOSES. The *second* class contains the books of THE PROPHETS, including not only the books which we call by that name, but various historical books, proceeding from writers to whom the Jews gave likewise the title of prophet ; such as the books of Joshua, the Judges, Samuel, &c. The *third* class contains the books which in Hebrew are called Chetubim, in Greek, Hagiographa, among which books, THE PSALMS occupy

the first place in the Hebrew Bible, and hence have given name to the whole class. When our Saviour, therefore, spake of the Old Testament, as composed of three parts, the LAW OF MOSES, the PROPHETS, and the PSALMS, he gave an exact description of the Hebrew Bible. It is true, that our Saviour did not enumerate the books of each class; but it may be easily shewn, that the three classes comprehended the present books of the Hebrew Bible, and no more. For the first class was devoted exclusively to the writings of Moses, and the second class admitted only the writings of those whom the Jews denominated THE PROPHETS. Neither the first nor the second class, therefore, ever could have contained the productions of later writers, whom the Jews could not possibly regard in the same light as their ancient prophets. Nor could even the third class have contained any of those books which we call Apocrypha. For most of them were Greek in their very origin, and consequently were incapable of admission into the Hebrew Canon. And with respect to the few among them, which may have been written in that kind of Hebrew which was spoken in latter times, by the Jews of Palestine, it would have been quite inconsistent with the veneration of the Jews for their ancient Hebrew Scriptures, to have admitted whole books written in Chaldee, though they did not exclude the works either of Ezra or of Daniel, on account of some parts of them being Chaldee*.

This reasoning appears to us conclusive and final as to the point at issue between the Churches of England and Rome; for it is quite clear, that the Apocryphal books could not be included among the books referred to by our Lord. But whether by the Psalms, we are to understand all the books of the hagiographa, is, in our opinion, not so easily decided. 'It is true,' remarks the Bishop,

'that there are some Hebrew manuscripts in which Job occupies the first place of the Chetubim. But the majority place the Psalms first. We may fairly presume, therefore, that the Psalms occupied the first place among the Chetubim in the time of our Saviour. Indeed, the very circumstance of his designating the third class by the name of the Psalms, implies it.'

That is, if, under the name of the Psalms, our Lord meant to designate a class of writings, it implies that the Psalms was the name given to the class; and the most probable explana-

* Marsh's Comp. View of the Churches of England and Rome, pp. 101, 2.

tion would then be, that this arose from its standing first. But the difficulty lies in determining, whether the title of the Psalms was ever thus applied to designate a class of writings, the greater part of which are historical.¹⁰ In the absence of all direct evidence, we must be permitted to have doubts of this. We must, therefore, understand our Lord as referring specifically to the Book of Psalms, as elsewhere he appeals to the Royal Psalmist by name, the Prophet David.¹¹ In another place, the evangelist Luke seems tacitly to include the Book of Psalms among the prophetical Scriptures, where it is said, that Paul "persuaded" the Jews "concerning Jesus both out "of the law of Moses, and out of the prophets from morning "to evening*." It is quite clear, that David ranked among the Prophets, notwithstanding that the Book of Psalms, for obvious reasons, as being of a mixed character, and not entirely the composition of David, was distinguished in the Jewish canon from the Book of the Prophets. The Book of Psalms indeed consisted of five books, as the Book of the Law consisted of five books, and the Book of the Prophets of many books; for classing, however, the writings of Solomon, Ezra, and the Authors of the Chronicles together as one book called the Book of Psalms, we have, so far as we are aware, no authority. To these, therefore, we conclude that our Lord did not refer as testifying concerning himself. And for the same reason that we conclude that he did not refer to books which are not of a prophetical character, when he spake of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, we must believe that the prophecies of Daniel were included in this reference. Mr. Gorham is pleased to say, that 'here are no fewer than ten books 'of the Bible placed by an anonymous writer in the same class 'of composition with Tobit and Judith.' This is in every respect a dishonest statement. The 'anonymous writer' did not place a single book of the Bible in the same class as Tobit and Judith. In a note, Mr. G. adds, by way of qualifying his mis-statement: 'He' (the Reviewer) 'does not, indeed, specify 'ten; but his remarks apply to all the books of the "hagiographa," except the Psalms.' And the Author of the Vindication accuses the Reviewer of throwing out of Scripture 'that 'most important book, the prophecies of Daniel.' The Re-

* Acts, xxviii. 33.

† We do not quarrel with this Vindicator, whom we presume to be a layman, for discovering an imperfect knowledge of the subject; but when he terms 'the triple distinction of the Jews, quite fanciful,' and asserts that 'the historical books ought to be included under the

viewer has done no such thing : his language implies the very reverse, and his remarks do not apply to all the books of the hagiographa except the Psalms. The books of Esther, Solomon's Song, and the Chronicles were particularized by name ;—the question raised was, whether the whole of the hagiographa can be considered as indited by the Holy Ghost ;—and to shew the full amount of Mr. Gorham's deliberate misrepresentation, the book of Tobit was specifically mentioned as one of those ‘positively exceptionable parts of the Apocrypha’ with which the historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures, even if not inspired, cannot be classed.

With regard to the inspiration of the Book of Daniel, no doubt can exist among Christians. In the first place, as Daniel was unquestionably a prophet, notwithstanding that his writings are classed with the hagiographa, we feel satisfied that his prophecies were referred to by our Lord, in common with those of all the other Prophets, as part of the inspired testimony concerning himself. The exclusion of the Book of Daniel from the Prophetic class in the Jewish canon, has by some learned men been attributed to a peculiar antipathy entertained by the Jews to this part of the Divine Oracles, on the ground of its affording so clear a proof that the time for Messiah's appearance is past. The classification, however, in all probability took place before this feeling could be brought into operation. Bishop Marsh, in the passage above cited, suggests, we think, a much more probable reason, when he remarks, ‘that it would have been quite inconsistent with the veneration of the Jews for their ancient Hebrew Scriptures, to have admitted whole books written in Chaldee ;’ for, though ‘they did not exclude the works either of Ezra or of Daniel from the canon on account of some parts of them being written in that language,’ it is not improbable, that this circumstance led to their being distinguished from the writings of the other Prophets, and thrown into the miscellaneous hagiographa.

The opinion of the Jews, however, respecting their own Scriptures, is no rule of a Christian's faith. It is important, indeed, as tending to establish the genuineness of the Hebrew Scriptures of which they have had the custody ; and the three-fold classification observed in their canon, shews that a distinction was made, and that very anciently, between the dif-

Prophets,’—in flat opposition to Bishop Marsh's statement, that they ought (some of them at least) to be included under the Psalms,—he falls into what he somewhat too freely charges upon the Reviewer—flippancy.

ferent classes of Scripture. But of the validity and full amount of that distinction, it remains for us to judge.

Now, with regard to the Book of Daniel, besides the strong presumption above referred to, that our Lord designed to include it among the Prophets, there is perhaps no book in the Old Testament the inspiration of which is more irrefragably established by internal evidence. Add to which, that, in common with all books which lay claim to the character of prophecies, their inspiration is a necessary consequence of their authenticity and genuineness. There is no alternative between admitting them to have proceeded from holy and inspired men, and attributing them to imposture and fraud. The testimony of the Jews, therefore, to the genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel, virtually establishes its inspired character.

Let us then examine the other books of the hagiographa: they are as follow. Three books composed by King Solomon, viz. the Proverbs, the Preacher, and Canticles; the Book of Job; the Book of Esther; the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, reckoned by the Jews as one; and the Books of Chronicles; in all nine books. These, we have now seen, are the only parts of Scripture to which the question whether their Authors were inspired can apply. Before we venture, however, to give any opinion of our own respecting them, as the Vindicator refers us to 'that learned and valuable writer, the Rev. Mr. Hartwell Horne,' we will cite a few paragraphs from some remarks on the Inspiration of the Old Testament contained in his excellent compilation.

" When it is said, that Scripture is divinely inspired, we are not to understand that God suggested every word or dictated every expression. From the different styles in which the books are written, and from the different manner in which the same events are related and predicted by different authors, it appears that the sacred penmen were permitted to write as their several tempers, understandings, and habits of life directed; and that the knowledge communicated to them by inspiration on the subject of their writings, was applied in the same manner as any knowledge acquired by ordinary means. Nor is it to be supposed that they were even thus inspired in every fact which they related, or in every precept which they delivered. They were left to the common use of their faculties, and did not, upon every occasion, stand in need of supernatural communication; but whenever, and as far as Divine assistance was necessary, it was always afforded. In different parts of Scripture we perceive, that there were different sorts and degrees of inspiration. God enabled Moses to give an account of the creation of the world; Joshua to record with exactness the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan; David to mingle prophetic information with the varied effu-

sions of gratitude, contrition, and piety; Solomon to deliver wise instructions for the regulation of human life; Isaiah to deliver predictions concerning the future Saviour of mankind; and Ezra to collect the sacred Scriptures into one authentic volume: but "all these worketh that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will." In some cases, inspiration only produced correctness and accuracy in relating past occurrences, or in reciting the words of others; in other cases, it communicated ideas not only new and unknown before, but infinitely beyond the reach of unassisted human intellect; and sometimes, inspired prophets delivered, for the use of future ages, predictions which they did not themselves comprehend, and which could not be fully understood till they were accomplished. But, whatever distinctions are made with respect to the sorts, degrees, or modes of inspiration, we may rest assured, that one property belongs to every inspired writing, namely, that it is free from error, that is, any material error. This property must be considered as extending to the whole of each of those writings of which a part only is inspired; for it is not to be supposed, that God would suffer any such errors as might tend to mislead our faith or pervert our practice, to be mixed with those truths which he himself has mercifully revealed to his rational creatures as the means of their eternal salvation. *In this restricted sense*, it may be asserted, that the sacred writers always wrote under the influence, or guidance, or care of the Holy Spirit, which sufficiently establishes the truth and Divine authority of all Scripture."

That the Authors of the historical books of the Old Testament were occasionally inspired, is certain, since they frequently display an acquaintance with the counsels and designs of God, and often reveal his future dispensations in the clearest predictions. But, though it is evident, that the sacred historians sometimes wrote under the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit, it does not follow that they derived from Revelation the knowledge of those things which might be collected from the common sources of human intelligence. It is sufficient to believe, that, by the general superintendence of the Holy Spirit, they were directed in the choice of their materials, enlightened to judge of the truth and importance of those accounts from which they borrowed their information, and prevented from recording any material error. Indeed, the historical books were, and could not but be, written by persons who were for the most part contemporary with the periods to which they relate, and had a perfect knowledge of the events recorded by them, and who, in their descriptions of characters and events, uniformly exhibit a strict sincerity of intention and an unexampled impartiality. Some of these books, however, were compiled in subsequent times from the sacred annals mentioned in Scripture as written by prophets or seers, and from those public records and other authentic documents which, though written by uninspired men, were held in high estimation, and preserved with great care by persons specially appointed as keepers of the genealogies and public archives of the Jewish nation. It is not necessary to be able to distinguish the inspired from the uninspired parts of the

historical books of the Old Testament. It is enough for us to know, that every writer of the Old Testament was inspired, and that the whole of the history it contains, without any exception or reserve, is true. These points being ascertained and allowed, it is of little consequence, whether the knowledge of a particular fact was obtained by any of the ordinary modes of information, or whether it was communicated by immediate revelation from God; whether any particular passage was written by the natural powers of the historian, or by the positive suggestion of the Holy Spirit. *Whatever uncertainty may exist concerning the direct inspiration of any historical narrative, or of any moral precept, contained in the Old Testament, we must be fully convinced that all its PROPHETICAL parts proceeded from God.**

These, Mr. Gorham will doubtless call 'loose sentiments,' doctrines worse than those of the Church of Rome. At least, he would do so, had they proceeded from the Eclectic Reviewer. To our readers, they will, we doubt not, appear fraught with much good sense and discrimination. If uncertainty, however, may exist concerning the direct inspiration of any historical narrative, it may exist respecting a whole book, which, like that of Esther, consists altogether of narrative; especially if its author is unknown, and if he neither lays claim to inspiration, nor stood in need of it in order to arrive at the knowledge of the facts he records. The criteria of Inspiration as attaching to the books of the Old Testament, we should be disposed to lay down thus:

1. Every book of the Old Testament must be believed to be given by inspiration of God, which is referred to by our Lord or his Apostles as inspired. This, we have seen, applies to the whole of the Old Testament *revelation*; that is, to the whole of the communications of the Divine will made at sundry times and in divers manners by the prophets, whether of a legislative character, or of the nature of prediction and promise. This revelation is comprised in the Books of Moses, called by pre-eminence the Law, and the writings of the Prophets, including both Daniel and David in that number.

* Had we room to go minutely into the subject, we should be disposed to offer a few remarks on this passage, by way of exception. We think that there is some ground for hesitation as to using the word *inspiration* as a generic term, including 'sorts and degrees' so various, by which its import is rendered comprehensive indeed, but at the expense of its force and definiteness. Besides, is it enough to know that every writer of the Old Testament was inspired, (which is here assumed) unless we know that what they have written was dictated by Inspiration?

these books, the character of Revelation in the highest sense attaches, and we think exclusively.

2. Every book may be admitted as inspired, its authenticity and truth being established, if the Writer, being a holy man, lays claim to inspiration. For instance, the Author of the Books of Esdras lays claim, in the character of a Prophet, to inspiration. If the genuineness and authenticity of those books could be established, its inspiration would follow as a necessary consequence. But they are rejected from the Canon, precisely because they are believed to be not authentic or genuine, not the composition of Ezra; and therefore, though they may contain things that are true, the pretensions of the writer must be false. But,

3. Every book of Scripture may safely be admitted as inspired, the Writer of which sustained the character of a Prophet. It is upon this ground, it may fairly be presumed, that the Books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth,* the first and second book of Samuel, and the first and second book of Kings, were ranked by the Jews among the prophetic writings. The distinction which has ignorantly been pronounced fanciful, could not be altogether arbitrary. That some of these books were written by the Prophet Samuel, we know; and there is the strongest reason to suppose that he would leave it in charge to his successors to continue the history. It is not improbable, that some part of these books is alluded to in the Old Testament as the writings of Gad the Seer. But, though we cannot certainly know who were the authors of these books, and therefore have no positive proof that they were all prophets; yet, as there was a constant succession of prophets in the Jewish church, and as these books are attributed to prophets in the Jewish canon, we have strong ground for concluding that they were all the composition of inspired men writing under the guidance of the Holy Ghost.

4. A book may, in the last place, be strongly presumed to be inspired, when the internal evidence of its inspiration is manifest, even although its author be unknown, and do not profess to have written it by inspiration. This is the case with the Book of Job. If it could be proved to have been written by Moses, it would fall under our third criterion. If the writer professed to deliver it as the word of the Lord, it would come under the second. The Jews, we have seen, do not rank it

* The Book of Ruth, which, in Jerome's *Prologus Galeatus*, is annexed to the Book of Judges, was sometimes placed by the Jews, as well as the Lamentations, among the hagiographa.

with the prophetical books. And yet, as there can be no question that the history is true, and the narrative authentic, since Job is referred to in the New Testament,—as there can be no doubt, moreover, that the writer was a devout and holy man, as well as endowed with the sublimest genius,—so, we think, that the internal evidence of his having been an inspired man, is all but irresistible.

It only remains to apply these criteria to the writings of Solomon and Ezra and the Chronicles, to which we have now reduced the *ten* books of the hagiographa. The question may be stated thus: Have we reason to believe that Solomon and Ezra (to say nothing at present of Agur, Lemuel, and the Jewish Chroniclers) were, like David and Isaiah, prophets? Do they lay claim in their writings to that character? Does the inspiration of these books follow, as a necessary corollary, from their admitted authority as authentic and genuine documents, or admirable repositories of wisdom? If the Book of Proverbs and Solomon's Song can be proved to be inspired, it is not, we apprehend, on the ground of either external or internal evidence, but on that of the inspired character attaching to their royal author. That God was the author of his wisdom, we know, as the Holy Spirit is the author of all true wisdom, the inspirer of 'all good counsels' as well as of 'all holy desires and just works.' But, whether he was 'moved by the Holy Ghost' in penning those compositions, or rather in speaking the proverbs ascribed to him, is not so certain as to rank among articles of faith. There appears to us far stronger ground for believing that "Ezra the priest, the scribe," acted and spake under the guidance of Inspiration; but it is observable, that he is never spoken of as a prophet, nor does he lay claim to that character. Even, however, admitting both Solomon and Ezra to have been inspired men, it would be very difficult, we conceive, to prove, that this character attached to the anonymous authors of the Book of Esther and the Books of Chronicles. We must therefore still contend, that these books, though very properly included in our canon as both authentic and true, are 'possibly not inspired'; and that the question whether they are so or not, comes within the proper range of human opinion. If there be any ground for admitting their inspiration which we have overlooked, we shall be very thankful to Mr. Gorham or any one else who will point it out. We are not aware, on the one hand, that any important consequence hinges on the decision; nor, on the other hand, are we conscious of any disinclination to admit the Book of Esther or the Books of Chronicles to be inspired as well as authentic, provided that solid reasons can be adduced for the conclusion. At all events, we

hope we have said enough to correct the mistake, and quiet the alarm of the 'Member of the Bible Society,' who has imagined that, if the inspiration of *any* part of Scripture be uncertain, 'it follows, as an inevitable consequence, that the Divine authority of *every* part of it, in other words, of the whole of the Bible, must fall to the ground.' Want of information or gross inadvertence can alone have led him to make this rash and dangerous assertion. No 'uncertainty as to the inspiration of the word of God' has been promulgated by either the Reviewer or the Bible Committee. But, according to this gentleman's reasoning, the discovery of even a spurious verse or an uninspired interpolation would invalidate the inspiration of the whole canon.

Let us now apply these criteria to the Apocryphal books, and we shall see how amply sufficient they are to disprove the pretensions of those writings to the character of Inspiration. In the first place, it is certain, as Bishop Marsh has shewn, that *they* were not included among the books referred to by our Lord as composing the 'three parts of Scripture,' even if we suppose that all the hagiographa were included. Secondly, their authenticity and genuineness (either one, or the other, or both) are, for the most part, to say the least, questionable; and therefore their inspiration cannot be substantiated on this ground. Thirdly, so far are they from being the composition of inspired men, that two of the writers expressly *disclaim* any pretensions of the kind; and the author of the books of Esdras must have been not merely an uninspired but an irreligious man, seeing that the book is altogether fabulous. Lastly, as their not being found among the Hebrew Scriptures deprives them of all external evidence, so, the internal evidence is *against* their inspiration. The proof that they are uninspired, therefore, is not merely negative, but positive and complete. At the same time, with regard to any books the authors of which lay no claim to inspiration, books of high antiquity and credible authenticity, such as the first book of Maccabees, the denial of their inspiration does not involve the rejection of them as historical documents, but simply of their doctrinal authority.

We have said that the import of the term canonical is a disputed point; not meaning, of course, its etymological import, but whether it implies more than the authenticity and genuineness of the writings which it designates. The Romish writers distinguish between different degrees of *canonicity*, attaching, as they imagine, to the two classes of canonical books which they call *libri proto-canonicali* and *libri deutero-canonicali*. This distinction, Bishop Marsh thinks absurd; and according

to his definition of the word canonical, it is so. 'Let us ask,' he adds, 'what the Church of England *understands* by a canonical book. This question is answered in the sixth article. 'It is a book to which we may appeal in confirmation of *Doctrines*. It belongs to the *Canon*, or to the *Rule of Faith*.' And after shewing that the Church of Rome has countenanced this explanation of the word, the Bishop adds: 'Every book, therefore, must either *be*, or *not be*, acknowledged as a work of authority for the establishment of *doctrines*.' In this sense, every book included in the *Apocrypha* must be rejected as having not the slightest claim to canonical authority. With regard, however, to the books included in the Protestant *Canon*, to which we have above referred as possibly uninspired, the books of Solomon and of Ezra, Esther and the *Chronicles*, we would ask: Do they in fact form any part of the *Rule of Faith*? Do they reveal a single *doctrine*? Do they contain a single prediction? Do they bear any prophetic witness to the *Messiah*? Does any one article of faith rest for its support on any passage in these books? Or are their value, their genuine excellence, and authority in the slightest degree invalidated by the doubt whether they are inspired? Does uncertainty on this point shake any portion of the *Rule of Faith*? Is there the slightest reason for apprehending that a man would less firmly hold the Divine authority of the word of God,—less firmly believe in any one Christian *doctrine*, because, on the grounds above specified, he had doubts as to the inspiration (and the canonicity in *this sense*) of either the book of Esther or the *Chronicles*? We do not put these questions to Mr. Gorham, for he declares, that the Council of Trent was more correct than the Eclectic Reviewer is; and it should seem that he would swallow the whole *Apocrypha*, *Bel*, and the *Dragon* and all, rather than admit a doubt as to the full inspiration of every book in the Protestant *Canon*. But we may safely leave these questions to be determined by the good sense of our readers.

In order, however, to understand the *Apocryphal* question as it lies between us as Protestants and the Church of Rome, it is necessary to be aware of the principle on which that Church has acted in its determination of the Romish *Canon*. And here we shall again avail ourselves of the valuable assistance of Bishop Marsh.

'That the Council of Trent assumed the privilege of raising to the rank of *canonical* authority, what was generally acknowledged to have no such authority, is a charge which cannot be made without injustice. The power of declaring canonical, a book which has never laid *claim* to that title,

' is a power not exercised even by the Church of Rome. In
 ' this respect, it acts like other Churches : it sits in judgement
 ' on existing claims, and determines whether they are valid or
 ' not. But, as the Church of Rome has decided one way, and
 ' the Church of England another, we must inquire into the
 ' claims of those books which the former receives, and the latter
 ' rejects.

' That books of the Old Testament which we call Apocry-
 ' phal, were pronounced canonical by the Council of Trent,
 ' is a decision by no means peculiar to that Council. Even the
 ' third Council of Carthage, which was holden before the close
 ' of the fourth century, has given a catalogue of the canonical
 ' writings of the Old Testament, in which the books of Tobit
 ' and Judith, with two books of the Maccabees, are expressly
 ' mentioned as belonging to the *scripturæ canoniceæ*; and the
 ' expression, used in that catalogue, of the five books of Solo-
 ' mon (*quinque libri Solomonis*), must have been designed to
 ' include both the book of Wisdom and that of Ecclesiasticus;
 ' the other three being the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Solo-
 ' mon's Song. Indeed, the Council of Trent declared no other
 ' books to be sacred and canonical, than such as had existed
 ' in the earliest ages of Christianity, not only in the *Latin*
 ' version of the Old Testament, but even in the ancient *Greek*
 ' version, which is known by the name of the Septuagint. The
 ' intermixture also of canonical and apocryphal books is ob-
 ' served in the Greek version, as well as in the Latin. It is
 ' true, that in the modern printed editions, especially in edi-
 ' tions printed by Protestants, the two kinds are separated.
 ' But in the *manuscript* of the Septuagint, there is the same
 ' intermixture of canonical and apocryphal books, as in the
 ' manuscripts of the Latin version. Now, this agreement be-
 ' tween the Greek and the Latin versions of the Old Testa-
 ' ment, arose from the circumstance, that the *old Latin version*
 ' was nothing more than a translation of the Greek version.
 ' Indeed, the Hebrew original was quite inaccessible to Latin
 ' translators in Europe and Africa, during the first three centu-
 ' ries. In those ages, the Jews themselves who inhabited
 ' Greece, Italy, and Africa, read the Old Testament in the
 ' Greek version. Thus, the Greek Bible became to the Latin
 ' Christians, a kind of original, from which they derived their
 ' own translation of the Scriptures.'

After observing, that the Jews, in those times, were nevertheless aware that the Greek Bible contained various books, or parts of books, not in the Hebrew,* and that these additional

* The Book of Ecclesiasticus was originally written in an oriental language; Bishop Marsh supposes, the Syro-Chaldee, the vernacular

writings, though highly esteemed by the Greek Jews of Egypt, do not appear ever to have been regarded by them as of canonical authority, the Bishop proceeds.

' Such was the state of things, when the Greek Bible was adopted by the early Latin Church, as a kind of original for the Old Testament. And as the Latin translator or translators were unable to discriminate between books originally Greek, and books originally Hebrew, they translated them in the mass, and received them with equal veneration (*pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia*). ' Hence, the celebrated Saint Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, whose reading was chiefly confined to works in his native language, regarded all the books of the Latin Version as books of canonical authority. In his treatise *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, he has stated what he calls the ' Whole Canon of Scripture,' (*Totus Canon Scripturarum*), and in this Canon, he expressly names the books of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and two books of Maccabees. No notice, indeed, is taken, in this Canon, either of the Apocryphal parts of Esther and Daniel, or of the book of Baruch. But as, in the Latin Version, the two former were constituent parts of Esther and Daniel, and Baruch was an appendage to Jeremiah, the very circumstance of his mentioning those books, without an observation, shews that he received those books *entire* (*libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus*).

' At length, in the begining of the fifth century, a new Latin translation of the Old Testament was published by Jerom. And this translation was made, not, like the old Latin translation, from the Greek Version, but from the Hebrew original. From that period, the difference between the Latin Canon and the Hebrew Canon became generally known; and Jerom himself has clearly explained it in his *Prologus galeatus*. He has there enumerated the books contained in the Hebrew Bible, "that we may know, that whatever is beside them, should be placed among the Apocrypha." But, though Jerom was by far the most learned among the Latin Fathers, his

' Hebrew' of the Jews at the time of our Lord's advent. The first book of Maccabees was originally written in the same dialect. The books of Tobit and Judith are also said to have been written in Chaldee, and Jerome seems to allude to them as extant in that language; but ' the Chaldee copies of which he speaks, may, at least,' adds the learned Prelate, ' have been nothing more than translations from the Greek.' Origen could not meet with them. The Greek origin of the other Apocryphal books is certain.

opinion on the Canon of Scripture did not prevail in the Church of Rome. The books which he had termed apocryphal, were not only retained in the Latin Version, but retained intermixed, as before, with the books confessedly canonical. Thus, the Canon of *Augustine* continued to be the Canon of the ruling party. But, as there were not wanting persons, especially among the learned, who, from time to time, recommended the Canon of *Jerom*, it was necessary for the Council of Trent to decide between the contending parties. And as Luther, on the one hand, decided in favour of *Jerom*, the Council of Trent, on the other hand, decided in favour of *Augustine*. Hence, also, we discover (what is not generally known) the reason why the Council of Trent omitted the third and fourth books of Esdras, with the prayer of Manasses. They were omitted in the catalogue of *Augustine*.*

Our readers will now see the extent of the demand which we make on the Continental churches, when we require of them, as the terms of co-operation in circulating the Scriptures, a 'practical agreement' respecting the Canon. It was *Augustine* who first distinguished what he terms 'the Canon of the Church' from the 'Canon of the Jews.' Bishop Chaloner accordingly, in a note prefixed to the first book of the Maccabees, says of those two books: 'They are received by the Church, who, in settling her Canon of Scripture, chose rather to be directed by the *tradition* she had received from the Apostles of Christ, than by that of the Scribes and Pharisees.' Consistent Protestants, rejecting the guidance of Tradition as uncertain and delusive, choose, in the proper exercise of private judgement, to be guided rather by evidence; and it is on the ground of sufficient evidence, that they adhere to the Hebrew Canon, not merely because it was the Canon of the Jews, or the Canon of Jerome, or the Canon of Luther, or the Canon of the Church of England, but because they believe every book in that Canon to be entitled to the place it holds, on the ground of the evidence severally attaching to them all. If we can persuade any of the Continental churches to agree with us on this head, either declaratively or practically, it will be well; it would, indeed, be a most happy triumph over error and prejudice. But if we cannot,—if they will not renounce the Canon of *Augustine*, the guidance of Tradition, and the authority of their Church, we think that the circulation even of their 'adulterated Bibles' is an object which we may lawfully promote;

* Marsh's Comp. View. pp. 87—98.
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and that the Bible Society would do wrong, having ascertained this, to withhold its co-operation. It is not within the province of the Bible Society to determine for foreign churches, whether the Canon of Augustine or that of Jerome shall be adhered to. ‘Every Church,’ remarks the venerable Mr. Simeon, ‘must determine that for itself; and on it alone would rest the responsibility of forming an erroneous or a correct judgement. If any Church should either add to the Scripture or take from it, it is *their* concern and not the concern of the Society, who are no more responsible for the books comprehended, by this or that Church, in their Canon of Scripture, than they are for the correctness of the versions that are in use among them.’*

II. Having now endeavoured to shew, that to contribute to the circulation of the Romish Canon is lawful, we proceed to the inquiry, Is it necessary?

Mr. Gorham boldly affirms in the very teeth of the representations made by Professor Kieffer and other foreign Protestants, that the ‘Reformed Churches have *no* objection to the omission of the Apocrypha,’ and he intimates as much, though he does not distinctly affirm it, of the Lutheran. This mis-statement requires no refutation and no comment. The Author of the Vindication labours to shew, that the people even of Roman Catholic countries have no objection to Protestant Bibles; and he mentions an instance in which three Roman Catholic priests at Lima expressed their readiness to receive Bibles without the Apocrypha. To this, in the first place, we reply, that we should be delighted to believe that no necessity for giving the Apocrypha exists. We have all along maintained, that nothing short of the urgent necessity of the case could justify the practice. The case supposed is, that the Bible will be received with the Apocrypha, but not without

* We have not deemed it requisite to notice the argument against such co-operation attempted to be founded on the denunciations of holy writ, respecting those who should add to the word of God; first, because, in reference to the canon, such citations are worse than irrelevant, being a palpable wresting of Scripture from its real meaning; secondly, because the argument is a two-edged sword which cuts both ways, unless those who use it can claim infallibility. Neither have we thought it worth while to combat the Vindicator’s assertion, that ‘the Canon of Scriptures is a doctrine of Revelation and a precept of Christ,’ because, though doubtless the Writer has a meaning in these words, we have not been able to discover it. They read like nonsense. If he means by canon of Scriptures, their inspiration, that cannot be called a precept. Nor is the canon revealed.

it. The Vindicator first argues, that, in most of the countries referred to, the Bible cannot be circulated at all; secondly, that it would do little good if it could be; thirdly, that the people are anxious to receive it on any terms. The first of these arguments may be disposed of by the simple observation, that where the Bible cannot be circulated at all, the Bible Society will not circulate the Apocrypha. ‘In regard to countries under Papal and Greek churches,’ says the Writer, ‘we may anticipate every obstacle to the circulation of the Bible in any form.’ It is precisely on this account that the Committee are anxious to remove one main obstacle,—the objection to any other Canon than that recognized in their respective authorized versions. Other obstacles exist, which may possibly be surmounted: if they cannot be, why then our Bibles will not gain admission at all. But if every obstacle but this one should be obviated, and this cannot be, it becomes in our view a matter of necessity, to concur in the distribution of their own canon. The second argument we give in the Writer’s own words, lest we should have misunderstood his meaning.

‘Already has the Russian Bible Society been arrested in its progress, and thus presents a memorable instance of the *little good that is to be expected from compromising the purity of God’s word.*’

The terms in which the unhappy revolution that has taken place in Russia, are here adverted to, are not precisely such as we should have expected from a ‘Member of the Bible Society.’ Does the Writer then consider the circumstances alluded to as a Divine rebuke upon the British and Foreign Bible Society for extending aid to the Bible Society at Moscow? or as a judgment upon the Russian Church for not accepting the Protestant Canon? Or does he mean, that ‘little good’ has been done by the Russian Bible Society, which, ‘in the space of eleven years, has purchased or printed versions of the entire Scriptures, or the New Testament, or parts thereof, in forty-one different dialects, and distributed nearly 450,000 copies.’ If this be not his meaning, we are at a loss to understand him. The compromise alluded to consisted in a grant to the Moscow Bible Society in 1813, ‘the chief object of which was, to enable them to print the Slavonian Bible for ‘distribution among the members of the *Greek Church in Russia.*’ By this means, ‘the entire population of the empire, both native and foreign,’ is stated to have been ‘brought within the scope of the benevolent provisions’ of the Bible Society. But the Slavonic Bible, *being printed after the Septuagint,* mingles the Apocryphal books with the Canonical. Mr. Gorham, therefore, spe-

cifically deprecates this grant. He does not, indeed, intimate with this Writer, that 'little good' has resulted from it, or was to be expected to result. He would, probably, confine himself to reiterating, we are not to do evil that good may come. Twelve years have nearly elapsed since the grant was made, since which time, upwards of 320,000 copies of the Slavonic Scriptures, (entire or portions only,) with or without the Russian, have been printed or purchased by the Russian Bible Society. Our co-operation in this, it seems, has been a crime; it was doing evil; little good was to be expected from it. Surely, this is not a zeal according to knowledge, nor is this 'the reverence due to God's word.'

The Russian Bible Society then, we take to be a 'memorable instance' of the very necessity which is denied to exist, and of the great good which has been effected by the becoming so far a Greek to the Greeks as to tolerate their following the canon of the Greek Scriptures.

The case of the venerable Leander Van Ess is another strong fact. The grant voted to that apostolic man, to enable him to print his own translation of the Vulgate, was, if we mistake not, that which drew forth the first protest of the Edinburgh Bible Society. We suspect that this venerated name is not in the highest odour in some quarters. And yet, his pathetic appeal to the Committee might seem sufficient to shake the sternest resolution. In the name of the Redeemer, and for the sake of what has already been done for the good of the cause, he conjures every member of the Committee, to 'make an exception from the rule in' their 'resolution respecting the Apocrypha,' adding: 'Oh! may the redemption of 'the thousands and thousands of our brethren among the Roman Catholics who thirst after the whole Bible, and hunger after the bread of life which no one gives them,—may it, like 'the blood of the redemption and purchase of the Saviour 'himself, weigh heavily in the scale, and decide the resolutions of the Committee in favour of my proposals and wishes, 'which are so forcibly re-echoed in the sighs of millions of 'forlorn Roman Catholics.' We must believe that nothing but the mistaken idea that it would be *sinful* to comply with this touching entreaty, could steel the hearts of the Edinburgh Committee. Here, surely, if compliance be in any case lawful, it would be admitted to be necessary. But what says this Vindicator?

'If it is asked, what then becomes of the Catholic and Greek Churches? I reply, that no idolatrous church can be considered Christian.....We ought as little to listen to the man who desires the intermixture of the Apocrypha, as we should to the infidel or

mussulman, who, to answer their own ends, demanded the intermix-ture or annexation of the Apocryphal gospels or Alcoran.'

Such is the spirit in which this Writer opposes the concurrence of the Society with such men as Leander Van Ess and Prince Galitzin, in giving the Bible, according to the Greek or Latin canon, to the millions who are destitute of it. Such is not the spirit of the Bible. May it never be that of the Bible Society!

We have now endeavoured to shew, that the concession we plead for is lawful; and that the circumstances of the Christian world are such as render it, if lawful, necessary. Necessary, we mean in the sense in which we speak of works of necessity and mercy on the sabbath,—necessary for the good of others; and, though not a compulsive necessity laid on us, yet, such a necessity on our part, as warrants our preferring mercy to sacrifice, and love to the souls for whom Christ died, before zeal for the Protestant Canon. It may seem almost superfluous now to inquire—

III. Is it expedient? ‘I look upon the present controversy,’ says the Author of the Vindication, ‘as one between faith and ‘expediency.’ Of course, the faith is on the side of the Edinburgh Committee, the expediency on ours. But may we be allowed to say, that faith without a warrant is presumption, and that expediency, if St. Paul is any authority, is not the antagonist of faith: the Scriptures call it wisdom. No man acted with more regard to expediency than the Apostle Paul, and yet he was a man of faith. It is not often that a man errs in paying regard to expediency, when the good of others is his object, whatever danger he may be in when he is consulting his own advantage. The predicament of the Parent Committee at this moment, however, is such as to render it no easy matter to decide what is expedient. It is expedient, if possible, to conciliate the Edinburgh Committee, so as to prevent the catastrophe which is predicted by their Vindicator as the result of their retiring from the Parent Society, and so ‘suffering it ‘to moulder into ruins by the defection of its auxiliaries and ‘subscribers.’ Expediency here seems to dictate giving up the Apocrypha, and leaving Leander Van Ess and the Paris Committee to shift for themselves, in order that the Parent Society may keep its *subscribers*. On the one hand, it is threatened with a melancholy retrenchment of its sphere of beneficence; on the other, with an embarrassing diminution of income. Expediency says, Listen to the Edinburgh Committee. Faith says, Go forward. There is then a contest between faith and expediency, but not such a one as this writer has represented.

We admit that *almost* any sacrifice should be made by the Committee to preserve, or rather to restore harmony in the Society. But it is seldom that compromises succeed in procuring permanent conciliation. What is called a middle course, is said to have the sanction of Lord Teignmouth, which would, if correctly represented, 'restrain the Society altogether from contributing to the publication of the Apocrypha interspersed, and confine its grants to foreign societies which only annex the Apocrypha to the canonical books.' A motion to this effect is said to have been unanimously carried on the 20th of Dec. 1824, but was rescinded, together with all the other previous resolutions respecting the Apocrypha, on the 7th of March last. The effect of this middle plan is thus described by the 'Member of the Bible Society.'

'This resolution, although by far the best hitherto proposed, was by no means satisfactory to any party, and was particularly offensive to those who consider that it is sinful, in any shape, to contribute to the circulation of the Apocrypha.'

In fact, this resolution, so far from ensuring a good understanding in future, would only render every grant to foreign societies liable to become an occasion of fresh altercation. If a grant be made to a Society publishing Bibles with the Apocrypha, whatever assurance may be given that such grant shall be exclusively applied to printing the canonical books only, it is quite obvious, that a larger portion of the funds of the foreign society would be set at liberty for printing the Apocrypha. Not only so, but, as the grant enables them to circulate the more Bibles having the Apocrypha annexed, it is the means of circulating more widely the Apocrypha itself. Whether the saving clause proposed, therefore, be worthy of the Society, we leave our readers to judge. Grants are to be made to Societies circulating the Apocrypha, but with this proviso, Recollect we do not give you this money for printing the Apocrypha. This nice distinction reminds us of a story told of a member of the Society of Friends, on whom the Bishop of Norwich, then Mr. Bathurst, waited to solicit his aid towards building a new church or chapel. 'Friend,' was the reply, 'I cannot give thee money towards building a new church, but I will give thee a trifle towards pulling the old one down.' If foreign societies obtain the grant, it matters little whether it is professedly for printing the canonical books only, or the whole of the books which they publish and circulate.

If, then, it be absolutely unlawful and sinful to contribute to the circulation of the Apocrypha in any shape,—if the syllo-

gism be conclusive, that the Bible Society cannot circulate any thing but the Holy Scriptures—the Apocrypha is not other Holy Scriptures—therefore the Bible Society cannot circulate the Apocrypha,'—then, it appears to us, that no grant of money whatever can be made, with or without stipulation, to any foreign society printing and circulating the Apocrypha, whether intermingled or annexed. This is the position taken by the Edinburgh Society, and unless the Parent Committee are prepared to go this length in concession, they will neither secure unanimity, nor have any consistent ground for stopping short of co-operation with foreign societies adopting a different canon.

For, first, if the Society contributes, however indirectly, towards the circulation of the Apocrypha, the principle is virtually abandoned, that it is unlawful and sinful to do so, and that the Bible Society cannot do it. Next, if it continues to co-operate with foreign societies circulating uncanonical books, in defiance of the syllogism laid down, it must be on the ground, that the Parent Society is not responsible for the decisions and conduct of foreign Bible Societies, and has neither right nor power to control them. This, we think a just principle; but then it is one which equally allows of extending aid to foreign societies circulating the canon of Augustine or of the Septuagint. If we are not responsible for the practice of Societies which circulate the Apocrypha annexed, neither can we be responsible for their practice who circulate it intermingled.

A middle course may then propitiate a few with the semblance of concession, but we cannot perceive any consistent middle principle. Mr. Gorham professes not to understand, how we can consistently represent it as 'a mere question of preference,' whether the Apocryphal books should be annexed or intermingled; disingenuously concealing the statement which accompanies the words he cites, that 'the evil, in its most palliated form, is the same in kind, and differs only in degree.' This, we regret to state, is but one of a series of uncandid misrepresentations with which this gentleman has met our animadversions.* If the principle be abandoned, that,

* Not to interrupt the argument, we have thrown a few of these into a note, in addition to the mis-statements of the Reviewer's notions respecting the canon, which have already been referred to.
1. The Reviewer remarked, that 'foreign churches understand by the Holy Scriptures the Old and New Testaments with the Apocrypha.' Mr. Gorham first thinks proper to restrict the term *foreign* to

in no case whatever, any thing but Holy Scripture according to the Canon of Jerome, can be circulated by the Society, it does become a mere question of preference—whether the uncanonical books shall be given in the most objectionable or the least objectionable way. We admit the circulation of the Apocrypha, in any shape, to be a great evil, though an evil infinitely counterbalanced by the greater good of circulating the Bible among the members of Romish, Greek, Lutheran, and other foreign communities.

It is said, that the British and Foreign Bible Society 'cannot circulate any thing but the Holy Scriptures.' It would be more correct to say, The British and Foreign Bible Society *can have no other object than to circulate the Holy Scriptures.* Here is a position in which *all will unite.* The question then returns, How can this object be most effectually and extensively promoted? We should say, By adhering, with respect to copies in the languages of the United Kingdom, to the authorized Version and the Protestant Canon, and by allowing foreign

Reformed and Lutheran churches, and then accuses the Reviewer of ignorance and misrepresentation! Even with regard to those churches, however, the popular sentiment ranks the Apocrypha with the Holy Scriptures, notwithstanding any formal declaration to the contrary; and this was, not long ago, the case to a great extent in this country. 'The peasants,' writes a Swedish nobleman, 'will have their Bible.' 2. Mr. Gorham accuses the Reviewer of holding up Chillingworth's well-known words to ridicule, and of treating his memory with little more respect than the *Puritan Cheynell.* For this injurious charge, the Reviewer's words do not afford the slightest handle or pretext. 3. Mr. Gorham represents the Reviewer as ascribing to the Church of England a 'stiffness of prejudice' in the *present day*, similar to that of the continental churches. This again is untrue: the Reviewer has only referred to the 'tenacity of the English Church' in 1661, 'in retaining the Apocryphal lessons in her service, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Presbyterians' in the Savoy Commission. 4. Mr. Gorham affects to be scandalized at our treating his holiness the Pope so disrespectfully, as to term the Devil 'the Pope's Master,'—an expression, he says, applied by the Reviewer 'to the whole genus of Roman pontiffs.' Even here, Mr. Gorham must needs misrepresent us, though the misrepresentation is of little moment. In the person of Pope Leo, we apprehend that the connexion between "the man of sin" and the "working of Satan" (2 Thes. ii. 9) is sufficiently apparent. If Mr. Gorham's *taste* is shocked, we cannot help it. 5. Lastly, this gentleman has the self-complacency to state, that the Reviewer has 'met neither a single fact nor argument of the case'; and he concludes his paper with calumniously representing us as 'trifling with the question of the inspiration of the Sacred Writings.' Can this be Mr. Gorham?

societies to adopt their respective authorized versions, and the canon they recognize—unless we can persuade them to adopt ours. If this be lawful, as we have endeavoured to prove, it is certainly, in the scriptural sense, expedient.

With regard to *new translations*, undertaken under the immediate auspices of the Parent Society, as well as all *new editions* printed in this country, or issued immediately by the Society,—in fact, in all those cases in which the Parent Committee are clearly responsible for the purity of the version and the integrity of the canon,—the exclusion of the Apocrypha ought to be made binding. By this means, it appears to us, our consistency as Protestants would be preserved inviolate; nor could the charge of circulating the Apocrypha be fairly brought home to the Committee, notwithstanding that they would, by grants of money to foreign societies, indirectly, but involuntarily, contribute to its circulation.

The experiment too might be made,—we think ought to be made, and not be hastily abandoned,—of introducing a pure canon, as well as a pure text, into countries where, at present, a strong prejudice may oppose the circulation of Bibles without the Apocrypha. The remarks which Mr. Jowett makes in his Christian Researches, on the subject of the maintenance of a pure text, seem to us to apply with almost equal force (although he has not so applied them) to the maintenance of a correct canon. ‘It is well known,’ he says, ‘by Biblical philologists, that there are considerable discrepancies between the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek Version of it by the LXX.; as also between the original texts of the Old and New Testaments and the Latin Version of them entitled the Vulgate. In the midst of these *Variæ Lectiones*, it has hitherto been judged the wisest practical measure, to print for every country the version most esteemed by it, whether it were according to the Original, the Septuagint, or the Vulgate. The discrepancies, however numerous, are not in kind so dangerous as to shake any vital point of Revealed Religion. Viewing, therefore, the importance, on the one side, of giving speedily and universally, the knowledge of the Scriptures, partly according to the originals, and partly according to accepted and competent versions; and, on the other side, the extremely small hazard of compromising the integrity of Scripture; it might fairly be asked, Would it have been right to pause and defer the promulgation of the Bible, till mankind should have agreed on a uniform text—a thing, practically speaking, neither attainable nor essential? The more rational course has been taken: the Original Scriptures, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate have all been used by the Bible

‘Society. And from this very policy, the following great benefit will arise. As the multitude of persons interested and skilled in Biblical criticism will thus certainly increase in Britain, in France, in Germany, in Russia, in Greece, in the Indies, and in the New World, a stronger stimulus will be communicated to their researches after a pure and standard Text; the incorrect points of each received Text will be discerned and acknowledged, and the Bible will thus attain in every part of the world, a character which no other book merits or could possibly acquire—that of having been tried again and again, in the severest furnace of criticism, and having ever been found to be, in its essential character, pure as the purest gold.

‘With regard, however, to New Versions of the Scriptures, the Bible Society stands in a different situation. In adopting Ancient Translations, which were made or copied under disadvantages beyond the reach of present control, we may well bear with those inaccuracies

————— “*quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura.*”

‘But, in an age blessed with so much liberty of biblical investigation, and supplied with such ample materials of every description of literature, it may justly be required, that new versions should be executed with the utmost advantages that can be had*.’

This is precisely the distinction which we would draw, relative to the Canon. Let the Society keep clear of the Apocrypha wherever it can; but the principle of printing for every country the version most esteemed by it, must, we think, in its fair application, be extended, in cases of necessity, to the letting every country have the *canon* most esteemed by it. Would it have been right to pause and defer the promulgation of the Bible till all mankind should have agreed upon a uniform *canon*, any more than to wait for a uniform *text*?

But to conclude. The Sub-Committee, it is justly observed, have ‘an arduous duty to perform, and a fearful responsibility will attach to their report.’ But we do not agree with the champion of the Edinburgh Society, when he adds, that ‘on the decision of the Sub-Committee is suspended the momentous question, whether the Society shall go on its way rejoicing, united and prosperous, or whether it shall fall to

* Christ. Researches in Syria, pp. 403—5.

'pieces like a structure of magic when the talisman is broken.' We contemplate no such melancholy alternative. We trust that our Edinburgh friends will be found to have over-calculated their influence, and that no such disastrous issue will attend their secession as they appear somewhat too composedly to anticipate. Their Vindicator seems to be angry with the Reviewer, because he spoke of some persons who would 'divide, and, if possible, ruin an institution which is the glory of our country and the hope of the world.' And yet, this same Writer speaks of the Edinburgh Society as retiring from the Parent Society, and *suffering it to moulder into ruins*. Such then is the expectation—God forbid that we should impute to them the wish—of the Edinburgh Society. But we entertain the fullest confidence, and, we trust, a confidence founded on the supreme power and good providence of God, that these sinister predictions will not be verified. Let the Edinburgh Society be allowed to renounce its connexion as an auxiliary. We shall only have another independent Bible Society instead; and the Parent Society will be all the stronger, because the more united, from the withdrawal of those who, there is reason to suspect, have long been ripe for the separation. What is withdrawn from the funds of the Parent Society, will still be employed in the distribution of the Holy Scriptures; and the harmonious competition of the Sister Societies may be productive of more good than a forced and inharmonious union.

'It is impossible, one would think,' says the Author of the Vindication,

'that at this time of day, there should be two opinions as to the nature of that bond of union which has been the glory of the Bible Society. Doubtless it consists in the belief of the truth of God's word, and a desire to circulate nothing but his sacred oracles. This is the magic spell which has hushed the rebellious murmurs of party-spirit, and bound together Christians of every denomination.'

But if this spell—if the common belief in the truth of God's word, and the *desire* to circulate nothing but that word—could have kept the Society together, it would not now be threatened with a rupture of its harmony. In that belief and desire, both parties with equal sincerity unite. The true bond of union, however, is the *simplicity* and *universality of the object of the Institution*. The sole object of the Bible Society—the sole object of those who would tolerate foreign societies in their preference of their own canon—is 'to encourage a *wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures*.' The difference which has arisen, relates not to the object, but to the lawful means of

promoting it. This bond of union then, this principle of coherence, still remains undestroyed. There are those who would contract its sphere and narrow its basis; but, by so doing, they would deprive the Society of that very character of universality which attaches to it in common with Christianity itself, distinguishing it from all other human institutions, as the religion of the New Testament is by the same characteristic distinguished from every other form of religion in the world. The harmony of the Society would be too dearly purchased by such a surrender. Never will it tarnish the glory of the Society, never will it be imputed as a crime against any individual member of the Society by the Saviour of Mankind, that they listened to the pathetic entreaties of his servant Leander Van Ess, when pleading for the thousands of his Roman Catholic brethren hungering after the bread of life, and assisted him in his labour of love, notwithstanding that he could not, durst not, adopt the Protestant Canon. Never will it be laid as a sin to the charge of the Parent Committee, that they have been instrumental in circulating 300,000 copies of the Scriptures among the benighted population of the Russian empire, because they contained the Apocrypha.

Art. II. *Journal of a Residence in Chili.* By a young American detained in that Country during the Revolutionary Scenes of 1817-18-19. 12mo. Boston, U. S.

A MONG the most interesting phenomena of the present age, is the astonishing progress of South America towards liberty and independence. A tyranny so shameless, so blind, so selfish and iniquitous, as that which weighed with an iron pressure upon Spanish America, has not, perhaps, existed in the long story of the world. The downfall of that tyranny is an event in which every good man must rejoice. But the triumphant results which have crowned the desperate struggle of the patriots, would, a few years ago, have been deemed a mere vision of enthusiasm. All has been effected within the short space of fifteen years. The new and independent governments which have been instituted, afford, even in their infancy, no slender promise of strength and stability. Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres, now rank as separate and independent states; and as nature seems to have marked out their political demarcations, in all probability they will be fixed and permanent. At a distance from the intrigues and policies of the old world, and safe from the dangerous vicinage of the Holy disturbers of Europe, they have, at present,

ample leisure to meditate upon the lessons which experience has taught them, and to listen to the dictates of that calm deliberative wisdom, whose voice could not be heard during the chaos and storm of the revolution.

Of Chili, much less has been written, and the details of the revolutionary struggle in that country, we have reason to believe, are less generally known, than of any other of the South American States. For this reason, we have perused with considerable interest, the slight but apparently authentic journal of our young American, which accident has thrown in our way. It is a trans-atlantic publication, put forth in a modest and unassuming form, for the laudable purpose of communicating in the United States, some information relative to the war for independence in the Southern part of the New Continent.

A slight recapitulation of the public affairs of Chili before the period at which our Traveller begins his minutes, may not be unacceptable. The first revolution was speedily and easily accomplished. On the 15th of April, 1810, when the commotions of old Spain, and the captivity of Ferdinand VII. and of his father, were first known, the principal citizens of Santiago assembled in the great square of that city; where it was unanimously decided, that the people of Chili should assume the government of the kingdom to themselves, until the restoration of tranquillity in Spain. Accordingly, a Junta was elected, to govern in the name of Ferdinand VII. A counter-revolution, attempted by the royalist party, was soon frustrated, and the commander was publicly shot. A similar revolution took place at Concepcion, under Don Juan Rosa, who was immediately sent as a deputy to the Junta of Santiago; and, for about four months, every thing went on well.

One of the most respectable and wealthy families of the kingdom at this time, was that of the Carreras. The three brothers, José Miguel, Juan José, and Luis, were brave, liberal, and accomplished, united in their sentiments, and tinctured with those chivalrous feelings which, in turbulent or unsettled times, prompt to bold and heroic enterprise. The external advantages, which have also their influence in such a state of affairs, were not wanting to them, for they were conspicuous among the youth of Chili, not only for their talents, which had been much improved by study, but for beauty, strength, and manly acquirements. They saw and lamented the inefficiency of authorities so suddenly and rashly constituted, and resolved to wrest the government out of the feeble hands into which it had fallen. Their liberality had won over the affections of the troops, and their popularity in the city was unbounded. Without commotion, without any show of military force, on an ap-

pointed day, they took possession of the palace, the arsenal, and the mint, and seated themselves quietly in the chair of government. The resources of Chili, which were immense, were for some years at the uncontrolled disposal of the Carreras. Of the extent of her revenue, an adequate idea may be formed, when it is stated, that in 1820, after ten years of civil disorder, and heavy contributions and exactions, she was enabled, without the aid of foreign loans, to equip twenty ships of the line, and to send seven thousand troops to Lima.

Nothing important occurred till 1813, when Pareja, a general from Lima, landed in Talcahuano, with about 1200 troops, chiefly from the island of Chiloe, and advanced to the river Maule, the boundary between the province of Concepcion and Chili Proper, before the Carreras had completed their preparations to arrest his progress. At length, however, they crossed that river, at the head of nearly the same number of troops, and came up with Pareja. The royalists were defeated, the general killed, and the troops driven into Chillan, where they were enabled to defend themselves against the assaults of the patriots.

While negotiations were going on between the Carreras and the royalists at Chillan, a more formidable enemy made his appearance. In the beginning of August, 1814, Osorio, a royalist general, arrived in Talcahuano with nearly 3000 troops from Lima. The brothers fled towards Santiago, but were taken prisoners and carried into Chillan, whence having escaped with the loss of their baggage and of much treasure, they entered Santiago under the disguise of pedlars, and, the next day, re-assumed their authority. The patriots were still deficient in arms and discipline. Having joined O'Higgins at Rancagua with about 2000 troops, the Carreras awaited the approach of the royalists, who reached the suburbs of the town on the 3d of October, and the next morning entered the city in order of battle. An obstinate engagement ensued. The patriots at last gave way, exhausted, more by the want of water, from which they were cut off, than by actual warfare. Few escaped. O'Higgins and Juan José Carrera owed their safety to the fleetness of their horses. The other brothers, from some inexplicable motive, remained aloof from the engagement, with a reserve of about 800 men. After remaining in Santiago a few days, O'Higgins and the Carreras crossed the Andes, and proceeded to Buenos Ayres.

The old order of things was now restored. Some imprisonments and confiscations took place, but it is universally agreed, that, upon the whole, Osorio did not abuse his victory. For more than two years, nothing occurred to disturb the pub-

hic tranquillity. But a storm was gathering on the other side of the Andes, which was soon to burst upon them in all the horrors of civil warfare. The revolution of Buenos Ayres had been effected at an earlier season, and with happier auspices, than that of Chili. The patriot army was respectable and well equipped, and the government had every appearance of strength and stability. In 1816, the government of Buenos Ayres undertook the emancipation of Chili. About 3000 troops under José San Martin were raised with secrecy and despatch, and ordered to assemble at Mendoza at the foot of the Andes. O'Higgins was the second in command. But the Carreras, who had given offence to the Buenos Ayres government, were not allowed to participate in the expedition. The army crossed the Andes early in 1816, and arrived in Chili, before either the people or the government had any intimation of the invasion.

The royal forces were intrusted to the command of Sambruno, a Spaniard who had made himself odious by insolence and cruelty. They amounted to 8000 men, but were divided by a dexterous stratagem of San Martin. That general approached the capital, and being met by Sambruno at the head of 4000 troops, the armies encountered each other on the morning of the 12th of February. The battle commenced with a charge from the cavalry of the Patriots, which broke the line of the Royalists, and put them into great confusion. They were routed and pursued with great slaughter. The chiefs of the Royalist party now thought only of escape. Most of them were intercepted in their flight by the people, who on all sides flocked to the patriot standard. Sambruno, by one of those acts of vindictive justice which are too common in unquiet times, was publicly shot. The independent troops entered Santiago in triumph, and measures were instantly taken for the formation of a new government. Thus ended the rule of the Royalists in Chili Proper. The province of Concepcion, however, was still in their hands ; and it was whilst San Martin was besieging Talcahuano, and preparing for an assault, that our young American arrived in Chili.

The fate of the unfortunate Carreras was truly lamentable, and we shall give it in the Author's own words.

'They were, as far as I can learn, somewhat dissipated, prodigal, and unreserved in their gallantries ; but, though they lost through these defects, the confidence of the reflecting part of the community, they still possessed in the highest degree, all the qualities which ensure popular estimation. They were still much beloved, and with the military, their influence was unbounded. A conspiracy in favour of the elder brother, who still survives, was discovered in Santiago

in the present year (1820), just on the eve of its execution; and most of the officers of one regiment, together with one citizen of the United States, whom I knew, were sent into perpetual banishment.

'In future years, when Chili shall have assumed among the nations of the earth the station which her resources almost ensure her, and when the characters of those who were most instrumental in achieving her independence, shall be contemplated through the grateful recollections of posterity, these men may not only afford interesting pictures to the historian, but affecting incidents to the tragedian. An only sister, Xaviera, most devotedly attached to them, and who had been the faithful partaker of their councils, determined to share their fate, and accompanied them across the Andes. The elder brother embarked for the United States, in search of foreign aid.'

'The two other brothers, after the battle of Chacabuco, resolved to return to their country. On their way, they were arrested at Mendoza, accused, and convicted of a conspiracy against the constituted authorities of Chili. They were publicly shot in the square of the city, on the 8th of April, 1818. The lands and property of the family were confiscated, and their aged father was exiled to the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez. He was afterwards permitted to return, but only in time to die. The sister remains in Buenos Ayres, poor and deserted; after having been from early youth the model of taste and fashion. Jose Miguel returned from the United States with considerable resources, but after the fall of his party, apparently never to rise again.' pp. 20—22.

As the vessel in which our Author sailed, was entering the port of Concepcion, it was boarded by a frigate's launch, with two officers and thirty or forty men, who took possession of it, placed guards over the crew and passengers, and at length safely anchored her in the Bay of Talcahuano, between a frigate and a corvette, September 1817.

'The bay,' says our Traveller, 'is spacious, safe, and extremely beautiful; it is in the form of a horse-shoe, and almost encircled by hills of various heights, which exhibit much picturesque scenery. There are two entrances into the bay, one on each side of the island of Querequina, though the eastern side is the only one by which vessels of magnitude can safely enter the port. The island is a miniature of Santa Maria, appears to be a formation of the same soil, and to possess the same varieties. It is famous for the muscles upon its shore, which the people use here, as we do oysters; indeed, the common people almost live upon them; they are extremely rich and fine-flavoured.' pp. 31, 2.

Being now detained as prisoners, it was some time before they could gather correct accounts of the political state of affairs in the province, to which their evil stars had conducted them. At last they learned, that the Bay of Talcahuano was all of the kingdom of Chili that now remained to the Royal-

ists : that the city of Concepcion, only nine miles distant, was the head-quarters of the Patriots, who were now menacing an attack upon the port. It was not till the 6th of December, that the attack commenced.

' When we were all asleep, the alarms sounded. We were all on deck in an instant, and the scene that presented itself, was the most brilliant and magnificent that I ever beheld. All the batteries facing Concepcion were in a constant blaze, and the discharges of musquetry in every direction were more quick and sudden than our eyes could keep account of. We were moored near the shore, and our position gave us a fine view of the whole action. A constant and vivid fire was kept up for an hour, and at break of day, we could clearly perceive that the Patriots had entered the lines, and that the fight was man to man, and at sword's length. The officers of the ships of war had now given up the place for lost, and ordered sailors on board of us, to assist in getting under weigh, and prepare to sail immediately. While we were thus employed, we heard the beat of retreat from the Patriot side, and before the sun rose, saw them retiring in good order.' pp. 37, 8.

The Patriots retired to Concepcion, and afterwards to Santiago. When Osorio entered that city in pursuit of them, the communication was opened to our traveller. His description of Talcahuano is not very flattering.

' I hope and believe that it would be an injustice to the Chilenos, to take the society, manners, and style of living and appearance of Talcahuano at the present time, as a sample for the kingdom, though much of the best society, and many of the wealthiest and most respectable families of the province are now gathered here. Most of the buildings are store-houses, long and wide, of one story high, the walls thick and clumsy, and composed of brick or tile, dried in the sun. The dwelling-houses are in the same style, generally plastered without, and whitened. They consist almost universally of one large room, into which the front door enters, and two smaller ones, at each end, which serve as bed-chambers. There are few houses that have more than one window, and that not glazed.' p. 51.

Our American admits, that much of the inconvenience he experienced from the defective accommodations of Talcahuano, was owing to the political circumstances of the time. In that year, nearly 10,000 persons were pent up in that small town, with no other subsistence than the tardy and precarious supplies that arrived from Lima. In two days after the retreat of the Patriots, things wore a different aspect. The streets were filled with cattle, the market glutted with wheat and vegetables, fish, and fruit.

' The principal recreation I have found, has been in rambles about the neighbouring hills, and they afford you truly picturesque and ro-

mantic scenery. Along the whole extent of the western borders of the bay, the banks rise several hundred feet high. They are only here and there accessible for man or beast. At intervals of about a quarter of a mile, are cavities formed by a stream of water, as it descends the hills, along which are foot-paths which mules ascend with ease. The ascent on foot is not a little fatiguing, but having accomplished it, you are rewarded for your pains. On the summit, to the whole extent of the peninsula, is a large and fertile plain, skirted with rich and beautifully diversified shrubbery. The trees are not lofty or large, but they are thickly set, and of the richest foliage; the sides of the hills also are covered with verdant plants and shrubs, and the path way up, is often one continued grotto of fragrant evergreen.' p. 55.

There is nothing very inviting in the first appearance of Concepcion. Its inhabitants are at ordinary times estimated at 17,000. It was half in ruins, when our Traveller visited it, the city having been desolated by repeated revolutions. When the Patriots last retreated, they left not a chair or a table in their own houses; and the houses and furniture of the Royalists, they completely destroyed. News was expected every day, of the utter discomfiture of the Patriots; and many persons had already sailed from Concepcion, in the hope that Santiago and Valparaiso had been taken by the Royalists. It soon afterwards appeared, that the army under Ordonez had passed the river Maule about 70 miles from Concepcion, without opposition from the Patriots, who were encamped a few leagues distant. Some skirmishing took place in the afternoon of that day, and towards night, they both retired to encamp. At about eight o'clock, Ordonez surprised the Patriots, as they were serving out their suppers and liquors, and completely defeated and dispersed them. The royal army marched on to Santiago, and every one believed, that the fate of Chili was decided for ever.

Such, however, is the instability of human affairs, that the Patriots, who had fled, dispersed in every direction, soon re-united, and entered Santiago with considerable reinforcements. Osorio followed them at leisure, and on the 5th of April, within two leagues of the city, the Patriots gave him battle. The result of this conflict was, the almost entire annihilation of the royalist army.

'They engaged in two divisions, Osorio commanding one, and Ordonez the other. The former escaped with fifteen or twenty guards to Taleahuano, worn out with fatigue, and in the most miserable plight of fugitives. The defeat is acknowledged to have been complete: so much so, that scarcely 200 men have escaped. The battle was fought on the 5th of April. Thus, the royalist army,

amounting to 5000 men, a part of whom were veterans from Europe, was, in the space of three hours, so completely cut to pieces, that not three hundred stragglers have escaped. Both armies fought with desperation.' pp. 73, 4.

Our Traveller and his party were offered by Don Antonio Sosa, a residence at his *estancia* or country-house, about forty miles from the port, where the Author had an opportunity of witnessing a singular custom prevalent in Chili, but not peculiar to that province; that of converting the death of a relation into a scene of mirth and festivity. The steward of the *estancia*, having lost his only child, gave a fandango, at which his friends and neighbours were treated with music and dancing, wine and supper, and the whole night was dedicated to mirth and conviviality. The corpse of the infant was all the while exposed in the most conspicuous part of the room. This celebration, however, is not kept up on the death of an adult. It is only observed at the death of children under seven years of age. The reason assigned for it is, that '*El angelito* (the 'little angel) has died in innocence and gone to heaven; we 'ought then to rejoice, and not to weep.'

'The Estancia in which I am,' continues the Writer, 'may be taken as a fair sample of the better order of country-houses in this part of the province. The house is about eighty feet in length by twenty-five in breadth, with a broad corridor, and three quartos, little apartments attached to the house for sleeping-rooms. The walls are of sun-burnt brick, three feet thick, with two large doors opposite each other, and one small window; the roof thatched with reeds, and covered with *takas* made of clay, burnt, in form semi-cylindrical, lapping over each other in rows, alternately concave and convex, and thus acting as spouts for the water. The floor is rough and uneven earth. There are few houses water-proof. They are generally twelve feet high, and with no other ceiling than the roof. The women sit on a raised platform, covered with rugs or a Turkey carpet. Every house is furnished with chairs, but I never saw a woman seated in one.'

pp. 103, 4.

In September 1818, Osorio embarked from Talcahuano, with all the ships of war and merchant-men in the port, having on board about 300 troops and most of the royalist families who could raise sufficient money to embark. All the remnants of royalty assembled in the city of Los Angelos, or at various posts on the southern side of the Biobio, from which, on the approach of the Patriots, they could pass through the territories of friendly Indians to Valdivia and Chiloe. In the mean time, Talcahuano, once the scene of commercial and naval bustle, was left silent and deserted: not a ship, launch, or boat had floated in the bay since Osorio's departure. On

the 20th of October, a Spanish frigate and a large transport anchored off the port, and in a few days two other vessels arrived from Cadiz. From the four ships, about 600 troops were landed, and brought a most unlooked-for reinforcement to the slender army which had been left by Osorio. A short time afterwards, arrived the Maria Isabella, a large frigate from Cadiz, and bound to Lima, having on board several civil officers of the Lima government, a son of the viceroy, who had been educated in old Spain, and many military officers of rank with their families. The four royal vessels in the port, had sailed, on the day of her arrival, for Lima. After remaining there for a few days, and having obtained every requisite supply, the Maria Isabella prepared to depart; when, on the morning of the 6th of November, two other large ships appeared in sight and standing for the bay. They displayed the patriot flag. After a slight shew of resistance from the Maria, the two vessels, one the San Martin of 60 guns, the other the Lantaro of 40, poured a broadside into the royal frigate, which immediately struck her colours. Her captain and officers, and a great part of her crew, pushed off for the shore in boats, and escaped with nothing more than the clothes upon their backs. The Patriots soon took possession of their prize, which had considerable treasure on board, and, the next morning, sailed with her to Valparaiso, where she arrived in safety. Shortly after this affair, Sanchez, who had been left with his scanty garrison in charge of the city, commenced his march with the few who were fit for that service towards the Spanish frontiers.

The city and province of Concepcion were left equally defenceless. The condition of this devoted country was now truly wretched. Guerillas in the service of the king, whose duty it was to gather supplies for the Royalists, to act as videntes, and to watch suspected persons, reinforced by some veterans from Spain, men nursed in blood, and grown grey in rapine and devastation, soon became objects of the utmost dread to the miserable unarmed inhabitants, whom they pillaged without mercy. Few *estancias* in the country escaped their visitation. As the Americans were held in great suspicion and odium by the Royalists, our Author's party began to be apprehensive of the guerillas; and the more so, as the *estancia* in which they had taken refuge, was on the main road, and the family who resided in it, had always been suspected of patriotism. Under these circumstances, they determined to retire to the mountains, and having first concealed every thing valuable that belonged to them, passed the month of November in the depths of a forest, about half a league from their *estan-*

cia, preparatory to executing their final resolve. But having received credible information, that the Patriots were near at hand, and that the last of the guerillas had actually passed for the frontiers, they left their retreat, and returned to the *estancia*, where, having dined with more than usual satisfaction, they retired to take their siesta in peace and tranquillity.

'Our rest,' says the young American, 'was of short duration. About three o'clock, we were awakened by the alarm of a guerilla, and on looking out, we discovered the soldiers galloping towards the *estancia*. The two young men of the family, confiding in their knowledge of the country and its intricacies, immediately fled. I trusted to my neutral character as a protection, and remained. In a few minutes, the guerillas came up; one half of the company was ordered to pursue the fugitives, the other took possession of the house. This they searched with a scrutiny which nothing that pleased their eye could possibly escape. Whatever was of the slightest value, was deemed lawful prize. About half an hour afterwards, the party sent in pursuit of the fugitives returned, but not empty handed. They came back loaded with trunks and baggage belonging to the *estancia*, much of which was my own property. My little box, containing papers, money, and trinkets, they had completely rifled.'

'They then proceeded to the examination of my papers, and as the commander of the guerilla could neither read nor write, a Spanish soldier, who pretended that he knew all the languages of Europe, was appointed to that office. After turning over many of my papers, his attention was at last fixed upon a policy of insurance, headed, in large letters, "Fire and Marine Insurance Company." This he gravely translated into a marine commission in the service of the patriots, and the interpretation was eagerly adopted by the others. The commander now informed me, that his instructions obliged him to make me a prisoner, and that we must depart immediately to the frontiers. My conveyance was a mule for my trunks, and the skeleton of a horse, old and lame, with a wooden saddle, a sheep-skin, and a halter, for myself.'

'The frontier was upwards of 70 leagues distant. Thus mounted and thus guarded, I commenced my dreary expedition. The road for the first ten leagues, was little better than a continued succession of precipitous mountains, and dark and dismal forests. Ten leagues was the appointed stage for the night. During the long and dreary way, no cottage light gleamed through the foliage, the thickness of which frequently shut out, for miles together, the feeble rays of a waning moon. No symptom of man or human habitation was visible. More than once, the wretched animal on which I was mounted, sank exhausted to the ground: and on these occasions, the assistance that was ordered me, was afforded in the midst of curses and imprecations. More than once too, it was a subject of warm debate among them, whether, knowing me to be a patriot, it was not best to make away with me at once, and thus avoid the delay and difficulties I

might occasion on the road. One man only among them, seemed to take a favourable interest in me. He was a peasant of the militia, who had lately joined the guerilla. To one who has never been reduced to a state so perilous and disconsolate, it is inconceivable how sweet the voice of kindness and sympathy sounds at such a moment. In whatever place, and in whatever circumstances, I might meet this man again, I should embrace him with the warmth and affection of a brother. He related to me afterwards, the full extent of the designs harboured against me.' pp 162—166.

We cannot follow our American adventurer through his interesting journey, many of the incidents of which are almost romantic, but are related with the most unaffected simplicity. In the meanwhile, the inactivity of the patriot army seems to remain a complete mystery. Nine months had now elapsed since Osorio's defeat. Had the Patriots followed up their success with spirit and expedition, and marched into the province, they might, with a mere handful of men, have taken unresisted possession of Talcahuano, preserved its fortifications entire, and intercepted several richly laden vessels in the harbour. Instead of this, they permitted Osorio to collect the remains of his scattered force, to send despatches to Lima, to demolish the fortifications of Talcahuano, and to embark the greater part of the artillery with all the population and wealth he could transport. Even after Osorio's departure, they allowed time to Sanchez to organize the militia of the province, to assemble the regular troops, to treat with the Indians, and to retreat to the frontiers with a strength sufficient to impede the advance of the Patriots, if not ultimately to prevent their occupation of the province.

It was not till January, that the patriot army, amounting to about 3000 men, left Santiago ; they entered the province without opposition, and marched upon Chilian, about 20 leagues from Los Angelos, where they expected to meet Sanchez and decide the contest. Sanchez had advanced thus far, but had retired upon Los Angelos again, leaving 400 soldiers and a body of Indians to check the advance of the Patriots. These soon retreated ; the Patriots pursued them, and arrived at Los Angelos before Sanchez could cross the Biobio. The Patriots came upon them in the act of crossing, and a dreadful carnage ensued. Sanchez retreated with a great loss of baggage and military stores towards the Indian territories. The Patriots entered Los Angelos, where they found abundance of provision, and numerous flocks and herds in the neighbouring pastures. Thus ended all resistance to the patriot cause in Concepcion.

The battle of Maypu appears to have been decisive of the

fortunes of the patriot cause in Chili. The victory was celebrated in Santiago with triumphal pomp, and the whole month was a continued jubilee. From that day may be dated the extinction of the royal cause in that important part of South America.

For the next five years, Chili, under the directorship of O'Higgins, enjoyed with little interruption a state of tranquillity, although the defects in the new constitution, led to evils which at length produced an overthrow of the government. The senate named by the Director, instead of concurring in his enlightened views, formed a junction with the secretaries of the departments, and bade defiance to his too limited power. Heavy duties were laid on foreign merchandise, the proper administration of justice was neglected, and the complaints of the people on these and other grounds, became angry and loud. The exertions made in favour of Peru, and the heavy taxes necessary to make good the expenses, together with the little outlet for Chilian productions, pressed severely on all classes, and made them desirous of some change. The finances were so much reduced, that the pay of the troops, as well as the salaries of the public functionaries, was many months in arrear. Such was the state of things when General Freire, who held the chief command of the troops in the southern province of Concepcion, was induced, by the distressed state of the army, to grant a license to an English merchant to embark a large cargo of wheat,—a measure strictly forbidden by the Government, with a view to harass the Spanish force under La Serna, at that moment greatly suffering in Peru for want of provisions. This transaction excited the greatest indignation at St. Jago, and Freire was accused of assisting the enemy. A warm correspondence ensued, and on the 18th of December 1822, O'Higgins made a feeble show of reducing the general to obedience by putting some troops in march towards the South. Freire, on the other hand, issued a proclamation complaining of the proceedings of the secretaries of state whom he charged with intending to starve the army, and instantly marched to the capital, where the vacant directorship, O'Higgins having in the interim resigned, was placed in his hands as commander in chief. This took place early in February 1823. At first, Freire is represented to have lent himself to a fanatical party, at the head of which was a bishop who had been banished by the former government; but the influence of his prime minister, Benevente, at length prevailed, and led to a surprising revolution in the state of things. Hitherto, the monastic orders had largely shared, as in Guatemala, in political power. Freire

seized all the property belonging to the monasteries, including some of the richest estates in Chili, and ordered the whole of the *monks* to be banished. These seizures not only supplied the immediate exigencies of the Exchequer, but invested the State with a permanent revenue ; and so adroitly were they managed, that the decrees were sanctioned by the full approbation of the resident Nuncio from the Pope, which silenced all show of opposition. Most of the heads of the convents, it is said, acquiesced in them without a murmur. Promises were indeed made, to convert the despoiled monks into secular clergy, but these will never be performed. Freed from the benumbing influence of an enormously rich and exceedingly numerous priesthood, there is reason to hope that Chili will eventually become a free, enlightened, and happy country.

Art. III. *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan, in the Years 1821 and 1822. Including some Account of the Countries to the North-east of Persia.* By James B. Fraser. 4to. pp. 797. (Map.) 1825.

2. *Voyage en Turcomanie—Travels in Turcomania and to Khiva, in 1819 and 1820;* by M. N. Mouravier. Translated (into French) by M. de Laveau ; and revised by Messrs. Eyriés and Klaproth. 8vo. pp. 400. Paris. 1823.

NO TWITHSTANDING the enterprise and perseverance with which the business of geographical investigation has been carried on in different directions, the central countries of both the Asiatic and the African portions of the Old World are as yet very imperfectly known, though the barriers which forbid approach seem to be gradually receding. The wild and far-stretching tracts, for instance, which occupy the mid-region of Asia, have for centuries been nearly inaccessible to scientific travellers ; and many interesting questions connected with their past history and present condition, still remain for solution. Recently, however, attempts have been made, and with partial success, to gain information on most of these points. Mr. Elphinstone, whose researches in illustration of Oriental geography cannot be too highly rated, gave a new aspect to the map of many interesting sections of these countries. Indefatigable in his inquiries, his sound judgement was eminently displayed in the management of materials which, although the best that could be procured, were frequently at variance in their statements, questionable in their authority, and unsatisfactory in their results. Mr. Moorcroft, after having, in one adventurous journey, ascertained the solution

of several important problems connected with the map of Higher India, is now engaged in an enterprise equally important and yet more daring. He is said to have reached the city of Leh, on that part of the great river Scind, which lies north of the Hindoo Koosh ; and his intended course will, if successfully prosecuted, lead him into the heart of some of the least known among the states of central Asia. We are led to expect further information on these points. The kingdom of Ferghauna, known at present by the name of Kokaun, is said to have been visited by one of our restless countrymen ; and an account of a Russian embassy to Bockhara is, probably, by this time, published at Paris. We have also been assured, though without specific detail, that a journey has been recently made of a somewhat extraordinary kind : it was described to us as a sort of circuit among the Trans-Oxian regions, taking in, with singular felicity, many of those points on which information is more peculiarly desirable.

Mr. Fraser is advantageously known as the author of an interesting ‘Tour in the Himala Mountains ;’ and the volume before us will add to the high reputation ensured to him by his former publication, as an intelligent observer and indefatigable inquirer. The objects which he proposed to keep in view, while leaving himself in some respects to the guidance of events, were, first, the examination of the Persian provinces eastward of Tehran, and, secondly, an attempt to penetrate, through Khorasan, as far as Bockhara and Samarcand, with the intention, should circumstances prove favourable, of making still further progress to the east. In his anxiety to make his journey as completely subservient as possible to the promotion of science, he supplied himself with the best instruments that could be procured in India. It must, indeed, have been at the expense of no little inconvenience, that he contrived to carry with him, an excellent sextant, by Berge, on a gravitating balance-stand ; two chronometers ; a small surveying compass with sights and a reflecting lens ; and a large telescope, with magnifying powers of from 80 to 140 degrees. Of these valuable aids, he made an effective use, and the result has been, a considerable change in the localities of many important points. Tehran, for instance, is placed thirty miles eastward of its former position ; Lemnoon and Damghan have undergone a still greater dislocation ; Nishapore is moved to a distance, in longitude, of nearly two degrees ; and while Mushed has been shifted in the same direction almost three degrees, its latitude was found erroneous to the extent of not less than a degree. The importance of these changes is not confined to the mere points of specific calculation, since they affect the

relative situations of all the uncalculated positions in the same and surrounding regions.

It was on the 14th of May, 1821, that Mr. Fraser sailed from Bombay, for the Persian Gulf. The voyage was not altogether destitute of casualties. An alarm of fire produced some singular exhibitions of character, through all the varieties of passive listlessness, awkward restlessness, and effective activity. There was an old moollah who had been confined to his bed by indisposition, who now managed to leave his berth, and seat himself, ‘gaunt and immoveable like a reanimated ‘corpse,’ on a bale of goods in the steerage. He had been the first to perceive the smell of fire, and he had given due notice to several individuals who had passed near him. Unfortunately, the old gentleman’s enunciation was so deliberate as to be completely distanced by the movements of his hearers; and it was amusing to hear him, when the fire had been subdued, take credit to himself for his prompt discovery and for his persevering efforts to put the crew on the alert. On another occasion, after rounding Cape Raus ul Hud, (the Rasalgate of sailors,) the trade-wind failing, the vessel was caught in an in-draught, and narrowly escaped going on shore. A very striking scene of contrasted energy and helplessness ensued.

‘ Failing equally in our attempts to wear or stay, we drifted shorewards, right down upon an Arab buggalow, becalmed and helpless like ourselves, and at anchor off the entrance of the creek. Our vessel having little way, the collision did no material harm; but it was not till after two anchors were let go, that the best bower brought us up within two ships’ length of the rocks: it was fortunately calm; but, as the least breeze would have probably proved our destruction, we sent on board the buggalow to request that they would move into deep water, and send a line to warp us out. Some of the officers were fortunately recognised by the Arabs, who readily promised their assistance; and though some on board had at first thought proper to express their contempt at the vessel and her crew, their opinions were rapidly changed into admiration at the energy and skill with which this aid was afforded: their huge boat was tossed overboard in a moment, as if by magic, without the aid of tackles, and manned by fifteen or twenty stout fellows, who sprang overboard into the water, as the quickest way to reach her. Their two large anchors were spliced together, and, with all the cables they had, stowed in the boat with equal celerity. They next rowed off to sea, dropped the double anchor, and returned to meet our jolly-boat, which carried our tow-lines, to be bent to theirs; then pulling towards us, they sprang up our ship’s sides, and without being either asked or ordered, manned the capstan, and began to heave away. We then had time to observe these men, so strong a contrast to our own heartless crew: they were mostly negroes from Mozambique and Zanguebar, belonging to the Arab tribes; athletic fellows, many of them six feet high,

and models for a Hercules; and we could not help reflecting on the miserable chance we should have stood against them, with such puny wretches as ours, had they boarded us with the same vigour, as enemies. In a few minutes, the cables were hove in, and an offing gained; and a gentle air which sprang up from landward, soon placed us in safety. We dismissed our Arab friends with handsome presents, and it was a striking sight to see them as they quitted us, plunging from the ship's side, and diving and swimming about like porpoises in their own element, as fearlessly and at ease, as if they really were amphibious beings.'

In consequence of a slight misunderstanding with the Persian government, originating in the military operations against the pirates of the Persian Gulf, Dr. Andrew Jukes had been appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Tehran, and Mr. Fraser was now availing himself of the opportunity so favourably occurring, by attaching himself to that gentleman during mutual convenience. When the ship reached Muscat, the presence of a British ambassador induced the Imaum to shew conspicuous courtesy to the representative of his ally, and to give every assistance to Mr. F. in his attempts to explore the country. The most important object of inquiry was, however, the fatal disease which, after having ravaged India, was extending its fearful devastation both to the east and the west. In the territory of Muscat, it had destroyed ten thousand of the Imaum's subjects; and the question of contagion or spontaneous origin seemed to be settled by the fact, that it first broke out in a village where no communication could be ascertained. Though it has received the same name, it appears to vary considerably from the usual symptoms of the *cholera morbus* of Europe. Its effects are frequently instantaneous. At Sheerauz,

* Very soon after its appearance, the disease assumed a violent character, and did its work rapidly. Many instances occurred of persons dying in the streets on the spot where they dropped; and these sudden cases of death caused so much dismay, that all feelings of sympathy and pity were lost in anxiety for self-preservation. Here, as in other places, the claims of kindred were insufficient to ensure attention; and victims were left to their fate on the spot where they were attacked, unaided and almost unheeded by their nearest relatives. Whole houses were swept off. In one instance, which came under our knowledge, out of a family consisting of nine males and five females, the whole of the former were attacked nearly at the same time. The females, panic-struck, fled from the house, and, halting only for a short time behind the gardens of the Jehan Numah, (our quarters,) for a few necessaries, took refuge in the mountains: some days after, they took courage, and sent to know the fate of those left behind. The whole nine were found dead in the house, just

where they had severally fallen. Towards the end of its career, the disease greatly relaxed in the severity of its attack, and the daily number of deaths decreased; but there were several fluctuations in the state of the mortality, before it could be positively affirmed that the epidemic was on the decline. The windows of our lodgings commanded a view of several burying grounds, and the numbers we saw daily carried to their graves, strongly corroborated the extent of the reported calamity. Our situation was, in truth, not the most comfortable. The population of Sheerauz has, in all times, been notorious for its bigotry and fanaticism; they never look on Europeans or Christians with feelings of kindness; and, during the progress of this disorder, these dispositions were not likely to improve, particularly as we occupied a garden which might have otherwise accommodated many of those who fled from its effects. Reports of a nature dangerous to the English party had been whispered about. The little stream of Roknabad, which partly supplies the town of Sheerauz with water, passes through the garden occupied by us; and hints had been thrown out, that the malady which raged was, in some degree, occasioned or exasperated by practices of ours.'

In this extract, we have out-travelled Mr. Fraser's course, and we shall only recur to previous circumstances for the purpose of stating, that, after landing at Bushire, the first Persian city on their route, the party had made progress as far as Kauzeroon, when it was delayed by intelligence that the epidemic had appeared at Sheerauz, and that the prince to whom the government of the province was consigned, had hastily abandoned that capital. The disease, in fact, made its first appearance in the royal harem, and its earliest victim was one of the prince's wives. Eunuchs and Georgians followed in rapid succession, and, at last, the prince's mother sank under the fatal seizure. This was the signal for a general *debandade*. The prince took horse and fled; the remainder followed as they might, and all was confusion and dismay. No heavier calamity could have visited the province than the decease of this excellent princess. She had been the favourite sultana of the king, and, by her influence over her son, had virtually administered the government of Fars during the twelve years of his viceroyalty. Her death removed the only barrier between the people and the miserable sufferance of unmitigated misrule.

Finding that it would be impossible, or, if possible, highly inexpedient for the envoy to proceed, Mr. Fraser, impatient of delay, set forward for Sheerauz, where he joined Mr. Rich and two other English gentlemen at their pleasant quarters in the gardens of the Jehan Numah. Beyond this city, he found it impossible to proceed; and his detention, though extremely inconvenient to himself, was so far a happy circumstance, as that it enabled him to minister to the last necessities of two

'valued and lamented friends.' The first who fell, was Mr. Rich, nearly the last victim of the fatal epidemic. Soon after Mr. F.'s arrival at Sheerauz, he was joined by Dr. Jukes, and, after an interview with the prince, the whole party set forward for Tehran. An amusing account is given of the scenes produced by the rapacity of the Persian *employés*. In the scramble for the presents given by the English ambassador, it came to drawn swords, blows, and broken heads, though, after all, not one of the combatants obtained a fraction. A mercenary of yet higher rank in the prince's service, carried off the whole. A curious and characteristic specimen of Persian falsehood and encroachment occurs in the following details.

'A person, formerly a slight acquaintance of Dr. Jukes, came to our quarters ; he had once been governor of a district, and became rich, but was ruined by the usual process ;—the sponge, when well saturated, had been squeezed dry, and thrown aside. This man had been observed hanging about, and was assiduous in his offers of service, until he attracted notice, and was asked what he wanted ; he said, he was poor and unemployed, and wanted service. This, the envoy told him, was impossible ; the establishment was full. Still he hung on, and the next day, contriving once more to attract the envoy's notice, he told him that he possessed a right to a house in town, of which he had been unjustly deprived by the Sheerauz government ; but that if he could obtain permission to accompany the mission to Tehran, he had no doubt that the respectability this would give him, would render his petitions at court, for its restoration, effectual. "Very well," said Dr. Jukes, "you shall have that degree of countenance, and may accompany me." "Ah," said he, "but I am so poor, that I have not the means of maintaining myself on the journey." "Well," said Dr. Jukes, "we shall manage that too ; you shall eat and live with my people, free of all expense." He expressed great gratitude, and went his way ; but returned the next day, saying he was very much distressed, for, not having a beast of any sort, he should not be able to keep up, unless he could be furnished with the means of so doing. "Ah," said Dr. Jukes, "that is impossible, I have no spare cattle, and cannot purchase another horse for you." An arrangement was, however, made, by which the man was to be provided with the use of a horse ; and the next day, Dr. Jukes told him this, adding, "You must, however, be ready to-night, as I start from hence this night without fail. Are you not yet content?" "No," said the man, "not quite." "What's the matter?" "Why, I am much distressed, I am a very poor fellow ; I have been obliged to pawn all my clothes, and have not where-withal to keep me decent in your company." "Why, how much do you require to relieve them ?—What may be the amount of your debt upon them ?" "Twenty or twenty-five tomauns," said he. "O ! ho ! my friend, and do you really expect me to pay your debts, and carry you free to Tehran, into the bargain ?" "By the favour of

my lord, who is all goodness!" "No! no! my friend, this is too much; you must now really shift for yourself." Had this money been advanced, fresh debts would have appeared, and the more that was done, the more would have appeared to do, until the case became hopeless.'

Dr. Jukes was not, however, destined to reach Tehran; and it was providential that Mr. Fraser was on the spot, at once to assist his dying friend, and to take charge of the documents and property belonging to the mission. He witnessed on the road, abundant illustrations of the destructive system of mal-administration under which all Persia lies oppressed and murmuring. The plain of Yezid-Khaust, once of rich fertility, and teeming with an industrious population, is now a scene of waste and desolate sterility, covered with the ruins of villages and caravanserais. Part of this devastation must be laid to the account of the Affghaun invasion, but its surest and most relentless agent has been the native governor. On the morning of November 3, when leaving Komaishah, Dr. Jukes appeared to be labouring under symptoms of incipient fever, which yielded to the usual medical treatment; but the various annoyances attending his public entry into Ispahan, brought on a relapse, and on the 10th, this amiable and accomplished man breathed his last. Mr. Fraser, though without official authority, immediately assumed the diplomatic character, as the best method of securing the property and the political objects of the mission, until he could surrender his charge into the hands of Mr. Willock, the *chargé d'affaire* at Tehran. Nothing could exceed the shameless rapacity of all classes at Ispahan. Every imaginable trick was employed to extract money from the embassy, and the most liberal presents were received with murmurs at their small amount. Even the attendance of the American clergy at the funeral of Dr. Jukes, was to be paid for, and a sum of nearly £40 was evidently, when tendered, 'very inadequate to their expectations.'

At Koom, the first town reached by Mr. Fraser after leaving Ispahan, he took the somewhat hazardous step of visiting, in company with his moonshee, a *seyed* well acquainted with the holy place in question, the interior of the tomb of Fatima, sister of Imaum Reza. Such is the sanctity of this shrine, that not even the potency of a bribe could license the intrusion of an infidel. His Persian garb did not conceal our countryman; he was recognised, notwithstanding his disguise and the shade of the evening hour. Moollah after moollah, some with lighted candles, came to examine his person; a part, having exchanged a few words with the *seyed*, retired as if satisfied with his explanation; but others expressed much indignation,

and appearances began to assume an alarming cast, when a seasonable opportunity presenting itself, Mr. Fraser and his guide effected their retreat. The next stage, and the termination for the present, of Mr. F.'s progress, was Tehran, the royal residence, and seat of government. Here he had opportunities of examining the characters of the leading men among the Persians, of which he availed himself with a shrewd and searching observance, that has led him to abate much from the estimate of former travellers. The day after his arrival, intelligence was received of the death of Mahomed Allee Meerza, the eldest son of the Shah. This high-minded prince seems to have been the favourite of the better part of the nation, and with his life, have sunk the hopes of all enlightened and patriotic Persians. Brave, generous, and accomplished, could the effects of a long continuance of misgovernment have been retrieved, the regeneration of Persia might have been expected from his reign; these blessings must, however, have been purchased at the expence of a civil war, as the king had decreed the succession to his second son, Abbas Meerza.

* Among many anecdotes that are related of the gallantry and decision of Mahomed Allee Meerza, the following is highly characteristic. Assad Khan, chief of a considerable clan, in consequence of some disgust at the conduct of his sovereign, had abandoned his service, and, retiring to certain fastnesses not far from Kermanshah, had taken to general plundering. The prince, determined to put a stop to this, after having in vain tried various methods to bring the rebel to his duty, at last headed an expedition against him; and having reached the place where the Khan lay with his retainers, the prince, in person, without saying a word to his followers, rode strait to the Khan's quarters, entered his presence, announced himself, and sitting down, addressed him on the folly of his conduct in resisting a power that must at last overwhelm him; assured him that he had a high opinion of his merit, and was disposed to grant every indulgence to a brave, and perhaps unfortunate man; invited him to return to his duty and enter his service; but warned him against longer pursuing his present lawless and dishonourable course. The Khan, struck with respect at the presence of the prince, and with admiration at his spirited conduct, was readily brought to terms; and the prince, soon after, conferring upon him the government of a district, had the satisfaction of transforming a desperate plunderer, into a brave and attached servant.'

Meerza Abdool Wahab, the moatimud-u-doulut, or 'secretary for foreign affairs,' is, 'beyond all comparison, the most eminent man at court for talents, probity, general popularity, and attachment to his master's interest.' This minister has risen from an inferior station, solely by his high qualities, and retains, amid all the temptations of elevated rank, the greatest

simplicity of manner, and the most blameless integrity of character. Unlike the rest of his countrymen, he is neither rapacious nor intriguing, but honourable in his actions, and liberal in his views and principles. He is a cool and acute reasoner, and without pedantry, though one of the most learned men of his country. The different provinces of Persia are committed to the government of the princes of the blood, and no one, excepting Abdool Wahab, dares complain of their administration; he, however, has been uniformly the independent, and sometimes the successful censurer of their misdeeds. His character in private life, harmonises with his public virtues.

The Ameen-u-doulut, or 'lord of the treasury and minister for the home department,' is described as a very oriental personage, lofty, tyrannical, and bigoted. Nor does the late ambassador to England, Meerza Abool Hussein Khan, appear to much advantage in Mr. Fraser's estimate. He appears to be a man whose character is utterly contemptible for his degrading and dissolute habits, even in Persia. His popularity in England is unaccountable, since, notwithstanding his ready laugh, and his plausibility of manner, his flattery is gross, and his conversation disgusting.

' He carried a number of handsome shawls with him to England, which he boasts to have bartered there for the favours of the first women of the land; and talks openly by name of the ladies of rank, *duchesses* and others, with whom he has had affairs of gallantry, and a whole host of minor females, some of whose letters he produces in Persian parties, and reads out, to vouch for the truth of his statements, which are doubted more from his notorious falsity, than from any confidence in the virtue of our fair countrywomen. He produces, too, a miniature picture, which has been shewn to the king as that of his mistress, without concealing the name; which, I regret to say, is that of a lady highly connected, and, I believe, considered respectable. It is to be hoped that this return for the kindness, no doubt innocently shewn to a stranger by our countrywomen, will serve as a lesson of caution in future; and that every Englishwoman will recollect how such kindness may be misconstrued, when lavished on a person of whose real character they may be ignorant.'

* * * *

' On his last return from England, Meerza Abool Hussein Khan came laden, not only with presents he had received, but with an immense quantity of merchandize, purchased in Europe, which he availed himself of his ambassador's privilege to pass free of duty: but when he reached Persia, desiring to obtain the carriage of it to Tehran also free, he managed to secure beasts of burthen for his own goods, among those provided for the conveyance of presents for the king. His majesty, however, who is quite alive to what affects his own interest, suspected, or was informed of the truth; and when the

ambassador approached Tehran, he took care to be absent on a hunting party, to which the former was ordered to repair, while the baggage went on to the capital ; and, according to orders previously given, was, without exception, lodged in one of the royal warehouses as *presents for his majesty*, the denomination under which the whole had travelled. The unhappy diplomatist never received back, or dared to claim a single package, aware no doubt of the inutility of such a step, had he even been guiltless of intended fraud. Mirrors, chandeliers, glass-ware, clocks, toys, pictures, cloths, silks, &c. &c. all went to the use of his royal master. The only part he saved of his accumulated European property, was a few trunks of cloths, which had entered the city as belonging to the British chargé d'affaires, and which, consequently, were held sacred.'

They have a poet-laureate in Persia ; like Dr. Southey, a clever, gentlemanly, prolific personage. His conversation is exceedingly pleasant, but, like Mr. Coleridge's, rather too much in the way of monologue. He is, moreover, 'like all Persians, "vain of his own merits.' The critics of Iran are unanimous in his favour, and the only difference of opinion relates to the precise rank to be awarded him—whether below or above Ferdousee. This 'interesting old man' received his European visitors with great cordiality ; and among the most pleasant of Mr. Fraser's recollections, seems to be his brief intercourse with Futeh Allee Khan, namesake and poet in ordinary to the king of Persia, Futeh Allee Shah, a monarch made up of a few negatively good qualities, and many positively bad.

His majesty is a rank poltroon, inasmuch as when once compelled, in the early struggle of his fortunes, to take the field against his gallant uncle, Saduck Khan, he kept at a respectful distance from the actual fight ; and when a spent ball came rather too near his sacred person, 'he fell from his horse in a swoon of terror, and was picked up in no very comfortable condition.' He has, beside, a fair portion of that imperial vice, ingratitude, for he tortured to death the man to whom he was indebted for his crown. But avarice is his besetting sin : to gratify this, he employs all lawful and unlawful means ; and it is one of his highest gratifications, to 'have large trays of golden coins set before him, which he sits counting over and contemplating.' From all this it results, that Persia, where the monarch originates every thing, is miserably opprest. The governors extract all they can from the people, and when they are saturated with wealth, are squeezed dry in their turns by the Shah. Justice is an empty name ; personal safety is endangered through the inefficiency of the police ; and the entire system and spirit of the government are selfish and illiberal. As a specimen of the terms on which the

people and their rulers live with each other, the following *good story* is sufficiently illustrative. We suspect that Abdool Rezak might be rather waggishly disposed when he told it, but the moral is the same; the hoax would not have been thought of, had not the known character of the government made it plausible.

'Meerza Abdool Rezak told me that during the time he lodged in a certain town, he was alarmed by the periodical cries of some person who appeared to be undergoing daily a violent beating, and who during the blows called out 'Amaun!—Amaun!' (mercy! mercy!) 'I have none!—I have nothing!—Heaven is my witness, I have nothing!' and such like exclamations. He found that the sufferer was an eminent merchant, reputed to be very rich, and who sometime afterwards confessed that he understood the prince or governor had heard of his wealth, and was determined to have a share; but that he, as he well knew that torture would be applied to extort it from him, had determined to habituate himself to endure pain, that he might be able to resist the threatened unjust demands, even if enforced by blows. He had now, he said, brought himself to bear a thousand blows of a stick, and as he was also able to counterfeit great exhaustion, he hoped to be able to bear as many blows as they would venture to give him short of occasioning his death, without conceding any of his money to them.'

When making preliminary inquiries on the subject of his intended journey to Khorasan, Mr. Fraser ascertained that it would be necessary to use extreme circumspection both in his previous arrangements and his consequent movements. The Shah is, it seems, extremely unwilling to indulge strangers with permission to explore the countries to the eastward of Sherauz and Tehran; he is aware that a spirit of discontent exists, and he is conscious that the internal weakness of his realm renders it highly inexpedient to allow a dangerous inspection. It is affirmed, that the assassination of Mr. Browne was by the express order of the king, and that the gold chronometer of that enterprising, but unfortunate traveller, had been traced into the royal keeping. Mr. Fraser, therefore, determined on leaving Tehran without seeking an audience at the palace assuming the Persian garb, and travelling with the caravans. As an ostensible object, he provided himself with a few packages of commodities suited to the markets of the different countries he intended to visit, not forgetting a stock of medicines, that he might on occasion enact the physician, a character which has often obtained, for the else persecuted Frank, protection and favour. His retinue consisted of five servants, and he engaged as half travelling companion, half interpreter, Meerza Abdool Rezak, a respectable

young Persian, the son of a wealthy and respectable merchant in Ispahan. He had quarrelled with his father and with trade ; the first was, he said, tyrannical, and the latter did not suit his literary and negligent habits. He was a good scholar, and, though a Persian, a man of honour and veracity, but his indolent and unsettled temperament spoiled all, and instead of a useful and agreeable associate, made him an incumbrance.

Mushed, the first grand point in Mr. Fraser's present movement, is now the capital of Persian Khorasan, though it was formerly nothing more than a dependency of the ancient city of Toos, now in ruins. It derives a yet higher claim to the admiration of the natives from the possession of the mausoleum and shrine of Imaum Reza, a saint held in the greatest veneration by the sectaries of Ali. The first place of importance reached by Mr. F. on his route, was Semnoon, a town once flourishing and populous, but now exhibiting in its deserted and crumbling tenements, the disastrous visitations of domestic tyranny, and hostile incursion. Our countryman had now reached the scene of Toorkoman foray, and the signs of ravage and precaution were yet visible, though the freebooters had not of late years ventured so far from their own frontier. Damghan was the counterpart of Semnoon, and a disagreeable delay was occasioned by the almost frantic behaviour of a refractory old muleteer. The village of Shahrood presented a more cheering aspect, but the sojourn here, protracted by a false report respecting the movements of a caravan which Mr. F. was hastening to join, caused much embarrassment, and led to injurious consequences. The arrangements made at Tehran had been left to the indolent Meerza, and he had mismanaged every thing ; while in addition to the bad effects of his negligence, the principal native servant, Mahomed Allee, having been disappointed, by this interference, of the profit he had expected to derive from the different details of preparation, took revenge for his baffled hopes, by every possible display of bad and malignant temper. Mr. Fraser was now most unpleasantly situated ; he had missed the caravan, and although pilgrims and travellers were collecting in sufficient numbers to justify a speedy advance, the dread of the Toorkomans, and incessant reports of recent disaster from their inroads, were continually interfering with the movements of a body made up of individuals who, though they had little relish for slavery and loss of property, had less for fighting. A few brave men were neutralised by their mixture with a mass of cowards. At length the column moved, and, after incessant hesitations, halts, reconnoitring, and demonstrations, reached the village of Meyomeid, tenanted by a half-savage race, of

whose character Mr. Fraser met with the following unpleasant illustration.

' While quietly going out of the gates of the caravanserai, a young fellow who stood by them, with a parcel of stout and long poles in his hand for sale, raised one of them in the air as I passed, and let it fall close before me, as if he would have struck me on the head. I looked astonished, but merely said, ' Thank you, friend, that's civil, but don't do so again,' and passed on. He laughed and grinned most insolently, calling me ' Feringhee,' but I said no more. On my return, a little after, I found him still in the same place, and he repeated the same action as I passed, the stick falling so close that it nearly grazed my clothes. I then stopped, went up to him, and enquired the meaning of such conduct; on which he aped my manner, and returned me so many insolent airs, that I could not help telling him, if he continued them I should punish him. He, however, not only persisted, but imitated and mocked the anger I shewed, till it rose so high that I hit him a severe blow on the face. He flushed with rage, and instantly seizing one of the poles with both hands, brandished it in the air, and struck me full upon the side, just in the loins, while, not believing that he would dare to use it, I made no guard, so that the blow came down unbroken, with so much force that I nearly fell. I immediately grasped the stick, and nearly wrested it from him, intending to use it upon him; but his companions came to his assistance, and I should have come very ill off, had not my negro servant, John, who was engaged in our chamber, observed the fray, and, rushing like a lion upon my antagonist, grappled with, and struck him so fiercely, that he was nearly borne to the ground. I now again interfered, and my servant, Seyed Allee, coming up with others, the combatants were separated, the fellow still foaming with passion.

' I sent immediately for the Meerza, told him what had occurred, and insisted that the delinquent should be carried before the ket-khodah of the village, and the case fairly stated. By this time the people began to find out that they had been in the wrong, and endeavoured to pacify me, calling the man an ass, a beast, that would not hear reason, not worth my anger: nay, when they saw me determined, and talking even of sending an express to Mahomed Saleh Khan, their governor, they took the stick, and putting it into my hands, begged I would punish him on the spot; but this I refused. I told the culprit that he had insulted a peaceable traveller, and an English gentleman, in the most unprovoked manner, and that the regular and proper mode of proceeding was to state the case to the ket-khodah or reish-suffeed of the village, who ought to punish him for his fault as he saw fit. If he declined so doing, there was no more to be said; but that I should certainly write to Mahomed Saleh Khan by the first opportunity, and they might depend upon it they would not then escape. So saying, I returned to my chamber, and the man was taken to the village. Soon after, a person came from the ket-khodah, to inform me that the man was then undergoing a

severe bastinado, which should be continued until I should desire it to end*. I instantly gave the expected order, adding, that all I required was to convince the people that such proceedings would not be tolerated, and to ensure the safety of English travellers in future. I was assured by the Meerza and my servants, that a sufficient punishment was in reality inflicted on the culprit. The blow I had received was so severe, that I continued in great pain during the remainder of the day, and had reason to fear that its effects would incapacitate me for the long journey that lay before us for the morrow.'

We shall avail ourselves of the slight link of connexion given by the mention of the bastinado, to introduce here an example of the spirit of clanship as existing in the East. A menial servant in the king's household, a native of one of the northern districts of Persia, hearing that his feudal lord had risen in arms against the king, immediately 'struck work,' giving as his sole reason—'The khan is yaghee, (rebellious,) I will be so too.' The bastinado was applied, but ineffectually;—'The khan is yaghee, I will be so too'—was his only reply to menaces or blows. He became, at length, insensible through the severity of his punishment, but in every interval of returning sense, he murmured—'The khan is yaghee, I will be so too,'—until the powers of life gave way.

On the road from Meyomeid, after much alarm and sundry

* It is very usual, when punishing a defaulter in Persia, thus to make the ill-will or revenge of the injured party (when he is a person to whom they desire to shew respect) the measure of the punishment awarded to a criminal who has offended him. I have little hesitation in saying, that it is more to give scope to the gratification of revenge, than for the exercise of better feelings; for it often strikes them with surprise, to see an European totally forego the pleasure of punishing his enemy when in his power. One day, as the late Dr. Jukes, along with the resident at Bushire, and some other English gentlemen, entered the gate of that city, on their way to pay a visit to its governor, an Abyssinian slave, who was there, thought fit, without any provocation, to pour out a torrent of abuse upon them as they passed. The resident fortunately recognised the man, told him he should hear of it, and, when they visited the Sheikh, mentioned the circumstance, begging that such insults to British subjects might be put a stop to. Presently, while drinking their coffee, a loud and long-continued roaring, near the balcony where they were sitting, induced one of the gentlemen to ask the Sheikh if he were punishing any delinquents, and what might be their crime. "Oh!" said the Sheikh, with perfect coolness and unconcern, "that's, no doubt, the fellow that insulted you:—yes, they will go on bastinadoing him until he die, or you tell them to stop." It may be supposed that the gentlemen, in no small haste, begged that the man might be released.'

small adventures, the caravan reached the Robaut Zafferoune, or Saffron Caravanserai, which obtained its name from a curious circumstance, unless, as is most probable, the legend was framed to account for the name. This immense building was founded by a rich merchant of Khorasan, and while it was building, a caſilah, of one hundred camels loaded with saffron, happening to pass, one of the animals slipped in some clay, tempering for cement, and was disabled. The owner was loud in accusation of the negligence which, by leaving slippery substances in a public road, had occasioned his loss. The merchant was, happily, at hand, and hearing the complaint, not only indemnified the loser, but purchased his whole stock of saffron, and mixed it up with the cement, instead of chopped straw. Extravagance of this sort, as might have been expected, brought the man of millions to want and even to mendicancy. Wandering thus from town to town, he came at last to the place where the saffron-vender, now grown wealthy by a judicious employment of the capital obtained through his fortunate misfortune, was living in all the enjoyments of affluence. Hearing of the condition of the wretched vagrant, he sent for him, and after feasting him abundantly, invited him, without communicating his motives, to relate the story of his life. Satisfied by this, that there was no error in the person, he led the beggar to a secret chamber filled with money.— ‘This,’ said he, ‘is all yours; it is the price of the saffron which you so liberally purchased from me: I have traded upon it and become rich, but the original sum itself I always reserved as belonging to you: take it now and live happily.’ Such is the tradition. It may be either true as far as the accident to the single camel is concerned, or, as Mr. Fraser suggests, the caravanserai might have been built by a saffron merchant from the profits of his trade. However this may be, the building itself is of immense extent, having the aspect of a ‘huge ruin of the fabulous ages, the abode of evil spirits,’ rather than a place intended for the accommodation of men. This wilderness of an hostel is the largest in Persia, and is said, when in perfect repair, to have contained seventeen hundred chambers, beside baths and a bazaar within its walls; enough still remains to attest its original magnificence and its judicious adaptation to its purpose. Strange tales are told of this dismal and bandit-haunted structure. One of the best was told by an old man in the company, as having happened to himself.

‘He said, that when only a boy of eighteen years of age, he travelled upon this road in company with a Turkish horseman, a mighty

man of war, who was going to Mushed. They halted in this caravanserai, and while eating their evening meal in a half-ruinous chamber, a human hand, freshly severed from the arm, was thrown upon their table-cloth, from an opening above. The boy's heart, at this sight, died within him, but the Turk only exclaimed aloud, ' what scoundrel wants to spoil my dinner ?' Immediately, as if for answer, a head, ghastly and bleeding, followed the hand. The Turk's wrath increased ; " D—— these fellows ! " said he, " can't they let me eat my meal in quietness ; what do they want ? " A foot was next let fall, and the Turk's anger was complete, he swore he would be revenged on the whole gang. Having finished his dinner, he mounted, and ordering the boy to collect the dismembered members, and put them into his tobrah, (or small bag,) he made him follow close and sallied out ; forty armed horsemen were there ready to attack him, but the Turk was an hero of the first water, he resisted their attack, fought retreating, and still guarding the boy, for a distance of two fursungs, and killed or wounded so many of the robbers, that at last they made off, and left him to continue his way in peace.'

Nishapore is a place of great antiquity, and has been subjected to many vicissitudes. Its original foundation is referred to the fabulous ages of Persian history, and its first destruction is attributed to Alexander the Great. Its more credible annals describe it as one of the royal cities of Khorasan, and for a long time the favoured capital of the Seljook dynasty. In the year of the Hejirah, 548, it was completely destroyed by the Toorkomans, but, under the subsequent empire of the Khauresmian sovereigns, regained its former prosperity. Again the torrent of invasion swept over it, and the Moguls of Jenghiz Khan levelled it with the dust. Again it was rebuilt, but in 1750, Ahmed Shah Abdallee took it by storm, and gave it up to the merciless devastation of his Affghauns. Since then Nishapore has been slowly and partially recovering ; but its diminished population, and the ruins which incumber its area, witness too forcibly that the season of its greatness is gone by. The plain which it commands, is remarkable for its fertility. Mr. Frazer availed himself of their vicinity to visit the celebrated turquoise mines, and has given some rather interesting details connected with the mode of working, and the various forms in which the gem and its *nidus* present themselves. While at Nishapore, Mr. F. was under the necessity of discharging one of his Persian attendants, whose insolence had been long intolerable, and experienced the danger of offending a vindictive ruffian, in the delay of his journey through the mal-treatment of a favourite horse.

Mushed is the present capital of Persian Khorasan, and we shall insert Mr. Fraser's lively description of its actual con-

dition, as affording a fair specimen of the state of things in this part of the empire.

‘ There are thirty two muhulehs or divisions in Mushed, each of which should be governed by its own ket-khodah or magistrate, but of these many are totally devoid of either inhabitants or houses, and the greater part of the rest are very thinly tenanted. Large spaces in various quarters, and especially towards the north and north-west, are occupied by gardens or orchards, chiefly in decay, and even by fields which are cultivated by the farmers. The path which leads from the Char Baugh to the palace, a considerable distance, winds entirely among the lofty but falling walls of the former, or the ruins of what once were the extensive dwellings of the nobles. On entering the Durwazeh No. from the north-east, the traveller passes through a desert of ruins, void of every sign of life, the whole way till he reaches the central street ; and it is much the same in every other quarter, except in the cluster of buildings around the shrine ; nothing is seen elsewhere but extensive burying-grounds, and endless tracts of ruins, as silent as the grave.

‘ The whole of the city appears, from the first, to have been built of sun-dried bricks or mud, so that every thing assumes the monotonous grey earthy colour, common to all Persian towns ; and even the houses that remain entire, are miserably poor and mean in their external appearance ; nor, if I might judge from all I heard and saw, is their interior accommodation much better : the apartments to which I had access in the houses of the first people were plainly and even meanly fitted up ; and although those which are more retired may have been better ordered, I should doubt if there be much of splendour, or even of comfort, any where to be found.

‘ The approach to these houses, in general, harmonizes with their exterior appearance, leading through dark lanes and narrow alleys, guiltless of the smallest attention to cleanliness or convenience. The dwellings that are inhabited look as if they had been reared at random, among the ruins of some destroyed city ; and in my walks among them I have occasionally stumbled upon the strangest holes and corners that can be conceived, where houses and huts peered out half hid in filth and rubbish. The path among such places sometimes burrows under the earth, or beneath a heap of buildings that have been built over it, upon a floor of beams and mats, and, after thus pursuing my way in darkness, descending, as it seemed into the bowels of the earth, a door has opened which, instead of giving entrance to a dungeon, as might have been expected, has opened to the pure light of heaven, and I have found myself, (wondering like Aladdin in his subterraneous gardens.) admitted into a neat court, or small parterre, surrounded with apartments, and fitted up with reservoirs and fountains of water, trees and flowers, and the usual appendages of a Persian Dewan Khaneh.’

The great ornament of Mushed is the mausoleum of Imaum Reza, a magnificent groupe of domes and minarets rising in the

midst of the city, and forming a grand centre to all the different approaches. Mr. Fraser's description of this showy structure is too long for extract, and, after all, requires plans and elevations for distinct comprehension. Open squares, surrounded by arcades, baths, medressas or colleges, a mosque, and other buildings, highly ornamented and glittering with gold and silver, are connected with the mausoleum itself, of which the precise form is, in a great measure, concealed by a mass of 'wretched mud fabrics, that encompass it around.' Mr. F.'s visit to the interior was a dangerous enterprise, and only accomplished by the assistance of one of the individuals attached to the shrine.

' On approaching by the way already described, we entered the magnificent gilded archway, and being admitted through Nadir's silver gate, where we left our slippers in charge of the porter, we proceeded to the lofty central apartment, than which I have seldom seen a more happy union of the beautiful and the grand. It was difficult to say which was most to be admired, the great size and elegant proportions of this noble hall, or the richness and beauty of its ornaments, seen as they were by a mellow and uncertain light, which veiled every thing that might have been harsh or glaring. After viewing this apartment for awhile, we approached that which contains the shrine itself: pausing on its threshold, my guide bowing himself until his head touched the ground, said a long prayer in Arabic, motioning me to follow him in action, as well as word, which I did implicitly, but, of course, without understanding one word. We then entered, and repeated forms of prayer at each of the four sides of the tomb, bowing, at every time, very low; after which we examined the apartment, and went through the rest of the place.

' Although the Meerza assured me that this was the most private hour of the day, there was, nevertheless, no inconsiderable crowd about the tomb; a number of pilgrims were paying their devotions at the shrine, and performing, under the tuition of the khadums, the same ceremonies I had myself gone through. Many were seated in corners in the anti-rooms reading the Koran; and a multitude of gowned and turbaned figures flitted about through the lofty mysterious rooms; all was silent and death-like, except the low hum of prayer, or the subdued and measured intonations of those who recited the Koran, sounds producing an effect more striking even than total silence. I should gladly have enjoyed for a longer time the impressive scene before me, but I could not forget that I was in a place where a Christian, if discovered, would assuredly meet a violent death. I was sensible of the intrusion which I had committed, and felt as if many of the eyes around were suspiciously glancing at me. It was fortunate that the uncertain light aided my disguise, as the awkwardness of my movements in performing the ceremonies of the place, and the common gestures that accompany their religious observances, would unavoidably have betrayed me, had any attention been paid to our party. I saw that the khadum himself was uneasy.

and hurried me rapidly from place to place ; and I cannot but confess, that I felt relieved, when, after having seen every thing that is shewn of the place, and gone through all its ceremonieis, we repassed the silver gate, crossed the Sahn, and retired from view into one of the cells of the Medressa Meerza Jaffier.'

When the government of the turbulent province of Khorasan was confided to one of the princes of the blood, it was necessary to find for him a minister of experience and commanding character, and the wuzeer Meerza Moossa was selected to fill the office. He is described as an able and well-informed man, of striking exterior and fascinating manners, but as also crafty, deceitful, and reckless of the means in pursuit of his end. With this person, and with several others of considerable note, Mr. Fraser had interesting conferences. But the most important information on the subject of his intended route, was obtained from the Ameerzadeh Nassr-u-deen Meerza, brother of the present monarch of Bockhara, Sooltaun Hyder. This prince had fallen—whether deservedly or otherwise, is not very clear—under the suspicion of his brother, and had, in consequence, taken refuge in the Persian territory. His appearance was little in his favour, but he proved, on further knowledge, remarkably intelligent, well-informed, and polite. In the mean time, Mr. Fraser's situation at Mushed became extremely critical. The peculiar circumstances of that capital have given it a character of sanctity, which made the presence of a heretic, pollution, and the heads of the several colleges began to bestir themselves on the subject ; nor were those eminent judges of theological questions, the populace, slow in manifesting their sentiments on this alarming business. The affair of Mr. F.'s visit to the tomb of the Imaum had been suffered to transpire ; the holy shrine had been contaminated by the gaze of an infidel ; and we are sorry to say that, in compliance with the suggestions of some of his Mahomedan friends, who seemed to consider the thing as a mere jest, he affected to become a proselyte, and recited with much applause the Mussulman Culmeh. We trust that he did not stop short in this meritorious accommodation ; and, although he give us no express information on the point, that he went fairly through the *last* probation in the novitiate of Islam. However this may have been, he gained nothing by his trimming ; the sincerity of his conversion, after its first *eclat*, was pretty generally doubted, and, worst of all, his supply of cash began to run low in a place where bills of exchange were not negotiable. In addition to all these untoward circumstances, his intended route to Bockhara was ascertained to be impracticable from the agitated state of the intervening provinces. In the failure

of his specific plan, he was successful in procuring much valuable information concerning that state, of which we can only afford space for a few particulars.

The father of the present monarch of Bockhara, was the celebrated Shah Murad, better known as Beggy Jan, a singular but able and enterprising prince, of whom Sir John Malcolm, in his valuable history of Persia, furnishes many interesting particulars. He extended his dominions at the expense both of the Persians and the Affghauns, taking Merve from the former and Balkh from the latter. He was succeeded by Shah Hyder, the reigning king, who is described as an amiable and an unambitious man; charitable, just, and devoted to the observances of his religion. He practises the most rigorous self-denial, preaches frequently, regularly reads prayers, and has a class of pupils to whom he delivers theological prelections. His court is extremely splendid, the different classes wearing distinct and appropriate uniforms, and the state ceremonial seems to be strictly enforced. Learned himself, he is an encourager of learning, and the arrangements of his court in the reception of strangers of all ranks seem to be adjusted on a scale at once judicious and munificent. He maintains an efficient army, all cavalry, but his warlike enterprises have not been either sanguinary or successful. The population of his kingdom is so variously estimated as to be utterly uncertain: one guess gives it at 3,600,000. On the whole, Bockhara appears to be well governed, and the people to be peaceful and contented.

The neighbouring kingdom of Ferghauna, now known by the name of Kokaun, resembles in nearly all respects of inhabitants, climate, produce, and government, the dominion of Shah Hyder, excepting that its ruler Omer Khan, is less of a dervish, and not so ostentatious in his administration. He is described as a 'mild, good, and equitable sovereign, ruling over a happy and contented people.'

Khiva or Khyvah, 'the cradle and remains of the once mighty empire of Khauresm,' is now shrunk into the territory of a Tartar chief, whose ambition is happily repressed by his want of efficient power, and whose ferocity is compelled to waste itself on minor objects, from inability to expiate in a wider scene of devastation. To this ruffian, Mahomed Raheem Khan by name and title, the Russian officer, Mouraviev, was sent as an ambassador, ostensibly on an errand of amity, but really, in furtherance of those ambitious views which are continually enlarging the Asiatic frontier of Muscovy. The captain's story is not particularly attractive, and we shall not entangle ourselves in the details of his book; he saw but little,

for he was kept in close custody during his stay at Khyvah, and his interview with the Khan was neither interesting nor of advantageous result. There is one point, however, on which he is at variance with Mr. Fraser, and on which we confess we are inclined to think him right. Mr. F. affirms that 'there is 'nothing like evidence in favour of the belief that any part of 'the Oxus ever reached the Caspian Sea,' and he mentions, with much *nonchalance*, the '*supposed* dry channel of a branch 'of the Oxus, that had the appearance of having led to the 'Caspian,' which is described by Captain Mouraviev. Now we really think that Mr. F. is rather too peremptory in this matter, and that his expectations of 'evidence' are, under all the circumstances, somewhat unreasonable. In the *first* place, local tradition is positive on the fact that the Oxus did once flow into the Caspian; ascribing the change of its course to the effects of an earthquake which happened 500 years back, and turned it by a new and shorter channel into the sea of Aral. *Secondly*, the Russian officer, Prince Bekevitch, who was afterwards murdered by the natives, affirmed that he actually found the *embouchure* of the ancient river in the bay of Balkan, on the shore of the Caspian, and that he traced it upward for a distance of five versts before he lost its traces. *Thirdly*, Capt. Mouraviev crossed the '*supposed*' dry bed *twice*, and we will venture to affirm that if his description be accurate, and we see no reason for scepticism, it can apply to nothing else than to the deserted channel of some considerable river. As this is a matter which has been much discussed, and some of our readers may feel interested in it, we shall translate Captain M.'s statement.

' From my researches it results that the dry channel of the ancient Oxus and its origin at the point marked on the map of Central Asia; after a short course to the west it turns off to the south-west, and after holding this direction for some length, it runs parallel to the Balkan mountains, situated at the point of the bay of that name. It then turns anew to the west, and throws itself into the Caspian by two mouths, one separating the mountains of the greater, from those of the lesser Balkan, the other more to the south, almost at the southern extremity of this bay. I have seen the traces of this river on the way from Krasnovodsk to Khiva. By the northern route I crossed the dry channel of the Amou-Deria, near the wells of Bech-Dichik; in this part the bed is called Ous-Boï; it is 100 *sagenes* (650 French feet) in width, and 15 (about 100 French feet) deep. This deep furrow is distinguished on the sandy and level steppe, by its abrupt and almost perpendicular banks, which have in some parts given way, and the sand has accumulated in such a way as to form a gradual descent to the channel of the river. The bottom is distinguished in a very striking manner, by the quality of its soil, from the steppe which

turmounts it, for it is carpetted with verdure and trees, and often furrowed by little rivulets of fresh water; reeds also grow there, and caravans on their way to Khiva commonly seek shelter in it. The Turcomans who are addicted to robbery, lurk in it, and convey their booty to the southward by following the direction of its bed.'

'On the southern route between Krasnovodsk and Khiva, I passed this channel somewhat nearer the sea at a place where it is called Engundj: the nature of the banks and bed is the same as at Ous-Boï, and is by so much the more in contrast with the steppe, as the latter does not here produce the smallest bush; the banks are not, however, so high nor so steep. A little more to the south, the dry Engundj turns to the east, and thrown back by its left bank, which is very lofty, it resumes its westerly direction: opposite this steep bank, the right side of the river is on an inclined plane, and goes off into the level of the steppe.'

'That I may bring together all the proofs relative to the ancient existence of this river, I shall refer to other testimony. The Khivians and the Turcomans of the coast affirm that at a distant epoch, the channel in question conveyed the waters of a great river which flowed into the Caspian; that it was then called neither Ous-Boï, nor Engundj, but Amin-Deria, because it was the same river which in our days waters Central Asia, and falls into the lake Aral. They assert also that their habitations were situated on the banks of this river, which is proved by the remains, still visible, of canals which served to water cultivated lands, as well as by the ruins of different edifices.'

'It is also known, according to the traditions of the Turcomans, that the mouths of these rivers were farmed out by the sovereigns of the country, and that the ground was well cultivated. Although the ancient bed of the Oxus is in many parts entirely choked up with sand, there are, nevertheless, found upon its banks mulberry-trees which have never grown in the country round Balkan, and which must have been brought from Khiva or from Bockhara by the stream.'

Most assuredly Mr. Fraser has dismissed all this in by far too summary a manner.

We have left ourselves no room for comment on the homeward route, which led Mr. F. to Astrabad by a new and interesting road. He every where found, both among the Khoords and the Toorkomans, who occupy with doubtful allegiance, the northern frontier of Persia, a hospitable reception; and his narrative exhibits characteristic traits of these wandering tribes, which we regret to pass by; but, as another volume is promised, we may perhaps have an opportunity of recurring to the subject. We have derived so much instruction as well as gratification from Mr. Fraser's publications hitherto, that the prospect of another quarto—generally a rather formidable anticipation to reviewers—affords us real pleasure.

Art. IV. *Essay towards the History of Arabia, antecedent to the Birth of Mahomed.* Arranged from the Tarikh Tebry and other authentic Sources. By Major David Price, Author of the "Retrospect of Mahomedan History." 4to. pp. 248. London, 1824.

THE learned Author of this historical Essay, confesses, in the Preface, that the result of his laborious researches has fallen very far short of his expectations. He had hoped to be able to make out something like a connected history of the Arabian peninsula, antecedent to the period at which Arabia first became possessed of authentic records, or had been made the theatre of events worth recording; and his investigation has led him back to the conclusion, that, anterior to the age of Mohammed, no such records ever existed. He has been pursuing, with admirable perseverance, a mysterious labyrinth, which, after spreading out here and there into dim chambers full of emptiness, has brought him out where he entered it. The history of the ancient Arabians, in what the Mohammedan writers justly call 'the times of ignorance,' would be but the history of various petty kingdoms, sometimes at war with each other, and at other times consolidated for a while under the sceptre of some native or foreign conqueror, and then, at his death, falling again into division; most of these kingdoms being no other than the doubtful territories of a pastoral sheikh at the head of some roving clan, or of some highland chieftain, the Fingal or Roderick Vich Alpine of his day. Ossian's Poems, were the scenery and costume adapted to the burning sands, and palmy plains, and myrrh-bearing mountains of Arabia, would give a fair idea of the history of the *tobbas* and *meleks* of its ancient history. If any doubt could exist on this point, the present specimen of Arabian legends would remove it; and we are indebted to Major Price for a volume both curious and entertaining, and throwing just so much light on the subject as is requisite to discover that we need search no further.

The word Arabia, like Persia and India, originally designated but a portion of the country to which its application is now extended. The Arabians of the Old Testament history were Bedowees, dwellers in tents*, genuine Ishmaelites; and their country was the *Orebh* or *Areb*, the pastoral desert or wilderness, which extended east of Judea from the Euphrates to the

* "Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there." *Isaiyah, xiii. 20.*
"Arabia and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied (traded) with thee in lambs and rams and goats." *Ezek. xxvii. 21.*

Red Sea. The Saracens of the Greeks and Romans (the inhabitants of the *Zahrâ* or wilderness) were the same people. The Arabia of the New Testament was the Arabia Provincia of the Romans, the kingdom of Aretas (Hareth), now comprehended within the pashalik of Damascus, and consisting of the tracts distinguished as the Ledja and the Haouran. The Arabia of ecclesiastical history was probably the same country. Bozrah, the see of one Arabian bishop, is in the Haouran; Akula, another see, is supposed to have been Kufah in Arabian Irak; and Nedjeraun, which is also said to have been an episcopal see, was probably the Syrian, not the Arabian city of that name. The greater part of the Peninsula, comprising the kingdoms of Saba and Heirah, the countries of Yemen, Hadramaut, Omaun, and Bahhrein, appears to have been little known to the ancients. The Sheba of Scripture, however, was in all probability the kingdom of Saba in Arabia Felix, the capital of which was Meriâba or Merab; and the name of Yemen, which signifies the South, answers to the title given in the New Testament to the queen of that country. There appear to have been, in fact, two Shebas, as there were two Ethiopias,—one in Arabia, and the other in Africa. But it is highly probable, that both Arabia Felix and Abyssinia were at one time united under one sovereignty. The traditions of both countries lay claim to that illustrious personage as their queen in days of yore; and Claudian, the Roman poet, a native of Alexandria, refers to the Sabaeans as governed by female sovereigns. Javan* also is supposed by Michaelis to have been a part of Arabia Felix. The Septuagint and Josephus write it *Iauay*, *Yowan*; and the learned Editor of Calmet, we know not on what ground, suggests as the probable meaning of the word, *a dove*. The Arabic for dove is Yemania, (whence *Semir-yemâmah* or Semiramis, the Mountain Dove, and perhaps Yemima,) and this is the name of an inland province of the Arabian peninsula; which would seem to support the above conjecture, had we any clear ground for rendering Javan or Yowan (for Jonah) a dove. But waiving these etymological conjectures, it would seem that the name of Arabia was first extended to the whole of this country by the Roman writers, but still, Sabaea appears to have been the proper name of the south-western part. Horace speaks of the unconquered kings of Sabaea in connexion with the untouched treasures of the Arabs, and these are coupled with the riches of India†.

* Ezek. xxvii. 19. *Uzal* is said to be the ancient name of Sanaa, the present capital of Yemen.

† Lib. i. Od. 29.—Lib. ii. Od. 12.—Lib. iii. Od. 24.

Pliny, speaking of the expedition undertaken by Ælius Gallus, a prefect of Egypt in the reign of Caligula, into Arabia Felix,—the only successful attempt ever made by the conquerors of the world on this country,—describes the Sabeans as most wealthy from ‘the fertility of their odoriferous woods, their gold, their well-irrigated fields, and the abundance of their wax and honey.’ These, we believe, are nearly all the scattered notices which occur in either sacred or classical history relative to the ancient inhabitants of Arabia. Major Price says, that the Arabians appear to have been confounded with the Getæ by no less accurate a geographer than Strabo; but this seems to rest on conjecture.

The Chronicle from which the present Essay is chiefly compiled, was ‘originally written in the Arabic language, by Abi Jaaffer Mahomed, the son of Jerreir the Tebrian,’ at the express desire of a sovereign of Bokhara, between the 961st and the 976th year of the Christian era. Major Price has made use of a Persian translation. The Arabian historian begins at the beginning, for he goes back to the fall of Adam from Paradise—into the island of Ceylon, from which scene of his solitary penance, as all good Moslems well know, he, by some means or other, at the end of the first century, found his way to Mount Arafat near Mekka, where he was joined by his disconsolate associate, Eve. Here he built the chapel that is now standing, unless the Wahhabees have destroyed it, giving the name of Arafat to the mountain in commemoration of the event,—the word signifying, according to the Tebrian, recognition,—according to other authorities, gratitude: we have both senses in the French, *reconnaissance*. From Mekka, the father of mankind returned, with his partner, through Hindustan to Ceylon, where some learned authorities maintain that he was buried, while others assert that his remains were deposited under a mount near Mekka. It is, however, agreed on all hands, that his grave was opened by Noah, that the bones were preserved in the ark, and that they were finally deposited at Jerusalem, on the spot now called Mount Calvary. The Tebrian does not furnish us with much information respecting the antediluvian world, so that Mr. Montgomery has lost nothing by not having perused this work when he composed his *World before the Flood*; but the history of Noah, the building of the Ark, and the circumstances of the Deluge are given with considerable additions to the Mosaic narrative. As most of these details, however, are at once mean and ludicrous, we shall simply state, that the Ark rested on the summit of Mount Joud, and that, on leaving it, Noah, with the chosen individuals who had shared in this memorable deliverance, descended

to the territory at the foot of that mountain, where they immediately erected a village of *eighty* huts, corresponding to the number of those who had escaped the awful catastrophe : this same village was still in existence in the days of the Writer, (towards the close of the tenth century,) and retained the name of '*Souk-ul-thamaunin*, the 'Abode of the Eighty.' It is evident, that both Noah and Adam spoke Arabic. All the seventy persons who escaped with Noah, *died without issue*, except his three sons, Saum, Haum, and Yapheth. Saum was the progenitor of the Arabians and the Persians, as well as of all prophets and just men ; Haum, of the monarchs of Habesh (Abyssinia), Zengbar, and Egypt ; and Yapheth, of Gog and Magog, the Tatars, Slavonians, and Turks.

The historian now enters upon the post-diluvian history of Arabia. The first inhabitants of the peninsula, of whom any records have been preserved, were the tribes of Aad and Thamoud, both descended from Aaram, the son of Saum, the one by his son Uz, the other by Gether, who inhabited the desert lying between Hedjaz and Syria. The tragical destruction of these two tribes, who fell into idolatry, and refused to listen to the prophets Houd and Salah, is often insisted on in the Koran, as a warning to unbelievers. Aad founded a magnificent city, which was finished by his son Shedad, who built a fine palace with delicious gardens, called the paradise of Irem, a true and particular description of which will be found in Dr. Southey's *Thalaba*. The edifice is still standing, miraculously concealed from the sight of men, like the magic castle seen by the Knight of Trierman in the Valley of St. John,—but has now and then been disclosed to the eye of the wandering camel-driver, who has in vain sought to revisit it. Those Aadites who survived the destruction of their race, having been converted by the prophet, retired into the district of Hazraniout (Hadramout), where one of their daughters became the wife of Kahtan or Joktan, the son of Eber, the great progenitor of the Arabs of Yemen. Another version of the legend, however, places this paradise in the neighbourhood of Damascus ; and the Thamoudites, moreover, are stated to have been descended from Hareth, the son of Aram, and to have dwelt in the desert immediately bordering on the mountains of Syria. This is not the only instance in which the close connexion between Syria and Arabia is observable in the traditions and local names common to both countries. Thus, as there are two Sheddads and two paradisiacal Irems, so there are two Edens (or Adens), and two Nedjerauns, and this double set of names might, we doubt not, be traced to a considerable extent. The statue of Hebal or Hobal, the principal idol in the Kaaba at

Mekka, is said to have been brought from Belka (perhaps Baalbek or Baalgad) in Syria; and the images of Asaf and Nayelah, which anciently stood on Mounts Safah and Merwa, are also said to have been brought from Hobal in Syria. From these vague and confused accounts, we may infer thus much; that Arabia at an early period received settlers, either as refugees or as conquerors, from the land of Aram, or Syria, who brought with them their gods. Hobal has been conjectured to be no other place than Abila in Cœlo-Syria. At all events, the alleged descent of Aad and Thamoud, as well as Joktan, from Aram, from whom Syria took its ancient name, strongly favours the idea, that the aboriginal Arabians of Hedjaz and Yemen were Syrians, although, in after times, Syria received back from the Peninsula several Arabian colonies.

While this race entered the Peninsula from the North, and seemingly descended the western coast, along the shores of the Arabian Gulf, another distinct branch of the great Noatic family appears to have spread from Chuzeztan, the Asiatic Ethiopia, along the banks of the Euphrates and the shores of the Persian Gulf, to have peopled the eastern and southern coasts of Arabia, and thence proceeded to Habesh or Abyssinia. That the Sabeans were Cushites, is evident from many passages in the Old Testament.* Accordingly, to the monarchs of Abyssinia and Egypt, a different descent is attributed by the legend, which, whether historically accurate or not, proves that the tribes were distinct and at variance.

Contemporary with Shedaud, was the celebrated Zohauk, or Ezdehauk, of Persian story, who is said to have been his uncle's son. This potent tyrant is fabled to have been in possession of the whole of Irak, with 'Tebristaun, Khezlan, 'and Gurgaun,' and all the territory in that direction to the very borders of Hindustan, which he governed with paramount sway for two hundred and sixty years. This Zobauk is generally supposed to be the Assyrian Nimrod. He is elsewhere referred to by the Tebrian under the name of Yurasp,—a mighty invader who entered the territories of the Persian monarch, Jemsheed, the supposed founder of Persepolis, and having totally defeated him, took from him his kingdom, and drove him into Tebristaun, where the vanquished monarch sought for refuge on Mount Demawund; here, at the expiration of twelve months, his retreat being discovered,

* Isa. xlvi. 3, xlv. 14., "I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia (Cush) and Seba for thee." "The labour of Egypt, the merchandize of Ethiopia (Cush) and of the Sabeans."

he was cruelly put to death, though some Persian chronicles state, that he escaped into Kabul, and perished there. According to the Magians, this Yurasp was a fire-worshipper, but the Koran represents him to have been a still grosser idolater. That Zohauk was the cousin of the Syrian Shedaud, the Aadite, is probably a mistake : he appears to have been of the Cushite family, and to have made war on the Elamites or Persians. By Gurgaun, we are probably to understand that part of Georgia that is watered by the Kur or Gour, and, by Tebristaun, &c., Azerbijan,—countries bordering on the very centre from which all population has diverged. But his proper country appears to have been the Arabian Irak or Mesopotamia.

The present Arabians, according to their own historians, are sprung from two stocks,—the *Arab al Ariba*, or pure Arabs, being the posterity of Kahtan, or Joktan, the son of Eber, and the *Arab at Mostareba*, or mixed Arabians, being descended from Adnán, the lineal descendant of Ishmael. To this distinction, there seems to be an allusion, Jer. xxiv. 24. “And all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert.” Yarab, one of the sons of Kahtan, is stated to have founded the kingdom of Yemen, and Jorham, another son, that of Hedjaz. Moreover, Yarab is said to have given his name to the country, *quasi Yarabia*. This last statement is clearly apocryphal. The tradition, however, that Joktan was the father of the Arabs, is countenanced by the brief record of the Old Testament. We read, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, that Joktan (or Yuktan), the brother of Phaleg, “ begat Almodad, and Shaleph, and Hazarmaveth, “ and Jerab, and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah, and Obal, “ and Abimael, and Sheba, and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jo-“ hab.” Many of these names are clearly referrible to Arabia, while others have been conjecturally assigned to India*. Hazarmaveth (though rendered by the LXX., Sarmoth, and supposed by Ainsworth to designate the progenitor of the Sarmatians, who were Medes) may be safely identified with Hadramawut or Hadramaut. Uzal, according to Sale, is Sanaa in Arabia ; and Havilah is the same word as Khaulan. Jerah, or Yarach, was perhaps Yarab, and Hadoram the same as Yorham. Yarab is stated to have left a son Yashjeb, who was the father of Sheba, surnamed Abdus-shemss, i. e. worshipper after the sun, the parent, perhaps, or one of the earliest votaries of the ma-

*. The most probable opinion respecting Ophir, fixes it in India; and Havilah (Gen. ii. 11.) is supposed to be Kabilah or Kabul.

gian idolatry. Abdus-shemss left three sons, Khaulan (H. vilah ?) Mezzah (possibly Mesha, Gen. x. 30), and Hameir, or Hamyar, the founder of the Hamyarite dynasty, who is supposed to have been contemporary with the patriarch Abraham. This kingdom of the Hamyarites, or Homerites, is said to have lasted upwards of 2000 years, during which period there were several petty sovereignties in different parts of Yemen, but they were for the most part subject to the Hamyarite monarch, who was distinguished as the great king. Hareth Ibn Shedad, surnamed Ul Rayesh, the twenty-first in descent from Hamyar, was the first who assumed the title of Tobba, as lord of all Yemen. His authority is said to have extended to the shores of India, and he pushed his conquests as far as Azerbiajan. He acknowledged, however, the paramount authority of the Persian monarch Manutcheher, or Mandauces, supposed to have been contemporary with Moses, whose power extended to the remotest limits of the west : the Pharaohs of the race of Amlak, alone disputed the Persian supremacy*. Hareth ul Rayesh was succeeded by his son Abramah or Abrahah, surnamed Zulmenaur, whose son, Obed Zulezghaur, was succeeded by Modaud the son of Sherauhil. This Modaud was succeeded by Balkeiss, his daughter or sister, the celebrated queen of Saba or Maureb.

There is considerable variance and confusion in the authorities cited by Major Price relative to this Hareth ul Rayesh, who may properly be considered as the founder of the first Arabian monarchy, and his immediate successors. The Author of the *Kholausset-ul Akhbaur*, ascribes to Abramah his son, many of the achievements related of the father ; stating, moreover, that the former was succeeded by a son named Afreikas, who engaged in an expedition against the western nations, among whom he founded a city called after his own name, Afreikiah. To this prince is assigned a reign of a hundred and forty years. The Tebrian ascribes these conquests to Obed Zulezghaur.

* Being employed, during the life of his father, on an expedition to the West (*Moghreb*), he proceeded so far in that direction as to discover nations entirely unknown to former conquerors ; and after spreading blood and slaughter far and wide, he brought with him, on

* It was to one of this dynasty, we are told, Ul Walid, the son of Mussaub, that Moses was sent on his prophetic mission. These Amalekites are apparently the Phenician shepherds of the Egyptian histories. The invasion of Egypt by the shepherd-kings is supposed to have taken place, A.M. 1920.

his return to Yemen, a multitude of captive negroes with features in other respects so disgusting and frightful, that his countrymen bestowed upon him this appellation of *Zulezghaur*, the man of horrors, which he retained ever afterwards.' p. 90.

Between the reign of Hareth the Conqueror, and that of Queen Balkeiss, supposing the former to have been the contemporary of Moses, an interval must have elapsed of five hundred years, which would allow, taking thirty years as the average duration of a reign, of fourteen or fifteen sovereigns between them; instead of which, we have only Hareth—Abramah—Afreikas—Obed—Modaud—Balkeiss. It is no unusual circumstance in the oriental annals, to make the reign of the preceding monarch extend over either a chasm in the records, an interregnum, or an intrusive dynasty. Hareth may possibly have been a descendant of Yarab; but of what race this Abramah was, is very doubtful. The name is the same as that of an Abyssinian usurper who invaded Yemen in the sixth century, and led his troops as far as Mekka. We are inclined to suspect that this first monarch of that name was of the same nation. Egypt at this period was a powerful monarchy, and was certainly never subject to Yemen. The captives of Zulezghaur, who are described as *acephali*, could not have been Abyssinians; and yet, these expeditions against the Mogrebs, must have been conducted through Abyssinia. That Abyssinia was conquered by the Arabians, is not so probable as that Yemen had first received an Abyssinian sovereign. Thus, then, we have strong ground for believing that a Cushite or Sabean dynasty succeeded to that of the Hamyarites, terminating in the famous queen of Sheba, the ally of King Solomon. It is observable, that a *hiatus* ensues between Zulezghaur and Modaud, of whom nothing is known, except that he was the son of Sherauhil, and reigned over Yemen seventy five years. It is possible, that the Abyssinian annals might throw light on this part of the history.

' At all events,' says our Author, ' from the time of Moses to that of Solomon, the Tebrian does not furnish a single circumstance illustrative of Arabian history; and then the story of Balkeiss, the queen of Seba, Saba, or Sheba, is introduced with such gorgeous embellishments as to resemble a fairy tale, rather than a fact in serious narrative. We shall therefore merely state, that she is described to have held her court among the mountains which separate Yemen from Hedjaz, and to have been discovered in her retreat by the lapwing despatched by Solomon in search of water, during his progress through Arabia. After Solomon had become master of the person of Balkeiss with the territory subordinate to her authority, an Arabian of the name of Naush, the son of Amru, the son of Yassoub, descended from the royal line of Seba, arose, when they were no more, and vindicated the independence of his country against foreign usurpation.'

This Naush, or Nausser, surnamed *Ul Naeyme*, the opulent, is stated, in the *Kholausset*, to have been the son of Sherauhil, and if so, he must have been the uncle of Balkeiss; but, according to the Tebrian, he was of the old Hamyarite stock, which is more probable. Having made himself master of Yemen on the abdication or death of Balkeiss, he is said to have conducted an expedition to the westward, till he was stopped by drifting sands, in which his kinsman Amru, on attempting to lead the way, was swallowed up and perished. Hereupon the king

* desisted from all further attempt on that side, and having erected a monument of brass upon the spot, surmounted by a statue of the same material, caused the following sentence to be engraven upon the breast of the statue: "This monument was set up by Naush-ul-Naeyme, the Hameirian (or Hamyarite), King of Yemen and Mogreb, who came thus far, and could find no passage further. Hereafter, let him who reaches the spot, avoid all fruitless research, and retire."

Major Price is perplexed to decide what direction the king could take westward in Arabia, to be stopped by such an obstacle. If the story be not fabulous, the sands which opposed his further progress, must have been those of an African desert. There were two Mogrebs or Magrebs, according to the Arabian geographers, *al Magreb al awsat*, and *al Magreb al akhsa*. The latter was the more western, and corresponds apparently to the modern kingdom of Morocco: the former is included in that of Algiers. East of these was the country called *Afrikeah*, which extended eastward to the limits of the Egyptian territory. There is a seaport of this name about 90 miles S.S.E. of Tunis. If these sovereigns of Yemen had any claim, then, to the title which they assumed of kings of Mogreb, there would be nothing improbable in the statement, that a monarch of the name of Afreikas gave his name to the territory referred to, and that the conquests of the Hamyarite, in this direction, were stopped only by the great desert.

We now come to the history of an Arabian monarch who is said to have pushed his conquests with unexampled success in a very different direction. This was Abu Kerret, otherwise Shaumer Berraush, surnamed, for his cruelty towards his captives, Abu Kurrub, the father of affliction, whom the *Kholausset* makes to be the son of Afreikess, and grandson of Hareth-ul-Rayesh; while the Tebrian continues, more circumstantially, the line of the Tobbaas, stating the successor of Naush-ul Naeyme to have been the son of Zeid, the son of Amru, the son of Obed Zulezzaur. However this may have been, this Abu Kurrub is said to have had for his contemporaries, Gushtasp (Darius)

Hystapses) and Bahman, kings of Persia; he must, therefore, have flourished between B.C. 520 and 465, and, consequently, between five and six hundred years after the death of the queen of Sheba, the supposed predecessor of Naush ul Nâeyme. This monarch, we are told, having formed the design of reducing the western Irak,

directed his march towards that province, through the intervening desert; and crossing the mountains of Tey, or Tai, he came to a place in an angle of the desert, on the other side of Kûfah, looking from the Persian territory: and there, losing his way and becoming alarmed (*mutteheyer*)—the spot ever afterwards retained the name of *Heirah*. Regaining, however, the road and his recollection, Abû Kurrub prosecuted his march, and entered Irâk; then passing by Anbaur to the banks of the Tigris, he proceeded by the route of Mossoul into Azer, bâijaun; where, in a variety of conflicts, he defeated the Tartars, again in possession of that province, with great slaughter. From thence, with a multitude of captives, and by the same route of Mossoul and Anbaur, he returned victorious into his own country. During this expedition, many of his followers of the tribes of Ezd or Azd, and Lakhem in particular, remained by the way, and became the founders of several towns in different parts of the country.

About a year subsequent to his return into Yemen, many of the most powerful monarchs of the earth became alarmed at the successes of Abû Kurrub, and sent ambassadors to court his friendship. Among others who appeared on the occasion, was an envoy from the Sovereign of India, bringing for his acceptance some very valuable presents, in coloured silk, frankincense, and musk, with many other articles of rare beauty and novelty, some of which he had never seen before. It occurred to the Arabian prince, to inquire of the ambassador, if the whole of these costly articles were the produce of Hindûstaun. To this, it was replied, that although India furnished some part, yet, that many of the most curious of the productions which he admired were brought from China, a country of which the Arabians were then entirely ignorant; and the ambassador proceeded to stimulate the curiosity of the prince, by describing to him the immense extent, numerous cities, delightful climate, boundless riches, and elaborate manufactures of that remote and wonderful country. On the departure of the Indian embassy, the Tobbaa determined at once on an expedition to China; and for that purpose, not long afterwards, quitted Yemen accordingly, at the head of all the troops he could raise.

Having by some means or other led his army through the territory of Balkh to the frontiers of Hindûstaun, the Arabian prince is said to have remained in that neighbourhood with the main body of his troops, while he despatched a force under one of his generals to enter China. The general having been, however, unsuccessful in his attempt, the Tobbaa resolved on undertaking this daring enterprise in person. Accordingly, he proceeded through Turkestan, and skirting the territory of Tibet, he there left a division of twelve

thousand Arabs, as a body of reserve, to retire upon in case of discomfiture. In short, he is described to have finally succeeded in penetrating the boundaries of the Chinese monarchy, the cities of which he is said to have plundered in every direction to an unlimited extent. In possession of a stupendous booty, in gold, and silver, and jewels, the Arabian conqueror returned through Tûrkestan, or western Tartary, into India, from whence he succeeded in conducting his army safe back again into Yemen; having consumed a period of seven years in this remote and perilous expedition. The twelve thousand Arabs, however, whom he had left in Tibet, were never withdrawn; and vestiges of the race are accordingly still to be discovered in different parts of Tûrkestan. According to the *Kholaus-set-ul-akhbaur*, we further learn, that this monarch was accompanied, on his expedition to the regions of the east, by a thousand standards, each followed by a thousand men, which would give him an army of one million strong. Passing the Jeyhoun, or Oxus, he captured and destroyed the metropolis of Soghd (*Soghdiorum metropolis*), and in its place erected another city; to which the Persians, referring to the demolition of the ancient capital, and kenden in their language signifying to dig up, or destroy, gave the name of Shamerkand, converted by the Arabs into Samarkand. The reign of Shaumer Berraush is represented by some authorities to have had a duration of one hundred and twenty years, although the testimony of Hamizab the Isfahanian is cited as reducing this to the less exaggerated period of seven and thirty years.

'Without admitting, to its full extent, the reality of the expedition to which we have above alluded, we shall here only remark, that, on its early conquest by the Mahomedan armies, an inscription was found engraven on the gates of Bokhâra, expressly recording the presence of Tobbaa the Hameirian, or Hamyarite, at least in that neighbourhood. Otherwise we should have been disposed to consider the whole together as an extravagant fabrication.' pp. 96-98.

If this Abu Kurrub was really a king of Yemen, properly so called, that is of the Sabean kingdom or the two Shebas, which we doubt, he was, in all probability, of an intrusive dynasty, if not himself an intruder from the eastern part of the peninsula. From confounding together the two distinct principalities, Heirah or Bahhrein³ and Saba or Yemen Proper, much of the obscurity and apparent contradiction in our Author's authorities appear to have arisen. There is no reason to believe, that the Arabian peninsula was ever totally subjected to one native monarchy before the time of Mohammed. A great part of the territory bordering on Syria, was always in the occupation of the pastoral or mixed tribes. Hedjaz, too, appears to have maintained its independence after its early separation from Yemen; and, Nourshîvân is expressly said to have been the first foreign conqueror whose paramount au-

thority was equally acknowledged by the Ameers of Sanaa and the viceroys of Heirah.

The following narrative, taken from the *Tarikh Tebry*, is curious on account of its obvious reference to the events recorded in the Testament history. Lohorasp, the successor of Cambyses, is stated to have been the Persian monarch who employed Bakhtunesser (Nabukhtunusser or Nebuchadnezzar) in that invasion of Syria and Palestine, which terminated in the first destruction of Jerusalem.

' On the consummation of that event, a remnant of the Jewish nation presented themselves to the prophet Ermeia, or Jeremiah; whom they besought to implore the Almighty for pardon and mercy. The prophet was instructed to apprise them, that if they hoped for pardon, they would abide at Jerusalem, there to continue to worship the God of their fathers. This was, however, an inconvenience to which they did not choose to submit: alleging that, as their sacred city was become a heap of ruins, a scene of utter desolation, they did not perceive how this injunction could be complied with. Thus disregarding the counsels of their prophet, they withdrew into Egypt, where they implored the protection of the King of that country, representing themselves of the stock of Israel, the children of prophets and kings, whose country, with the greater part of its inhabitants, a prince from the East had totally destroyed. The King of Egypt readily granted them an asylum, and otherwise treated them with great generosity; which drew upon him, however, the immediate anger of Bakhtunusser: for that conqueror, becoming apprised of the circumstance, instantly wrote to the King of Egypt, claiming the unhappy fugitives as subjects who had fled from their allegiance. "Send them to my presence without a moment's delay," said the haughty tyrant, "or I will come to thine with such an army as shall render the land of Egypt, like that of Syria, a land of horror and desolation." The King of Egypt replied with becoming magnanimity, "that so far from being the slaves of Bakhtunusser, the people who had sought his protection were illustrious free-men, descended from the prophets of the true God; and that he could scarcely be expected to deliver them up to the most implacable of their enemies."

' Upon this, Bakhtunusser shortly afterwards invaded Egypt, and having killed the king in battle, and put vast numbers of his people to the sword, then evacuated the country, taking with him an immense booty, together with innumerable captives. And here it is that we learn, what is more to the purpose of these pages, that most of those Jews who fled from Syria, and latterly from Egypt on this occasion, found their way into Hejauz: and from that day established themselves in the territory and vicinity of Yathreb, or Medeinhah, then so called, where they founded several towns, and among others Khaybar, Foreizah, or Fareizah, and Wady-ul-Kora.

' On the accession of Gushtasp, the son of Lohorasp, who had fixed the seat of empire at Balkh, to which he had given the name of

Balkh-ul-hassarah, Balkh the fair, that monarch, becoming apprised of the state of desolation to which all Syria and Palestine had been reduced by the fury of Bakhtunusser, the most beautiful cities being changed into the abode of wild beasts, sent a viceroy of the name of Kouresh to supersede Bakhtunusser in the government of Babylon and Irâk, with instructions to restore the captive Jews to their country, and give them the choice of a king of their own nation.'

The returning captives are said to have been conducted by the Prophet Daniel, and Ermeia (Jeremiah), after having been dead a hundred years, it is added, was restored to life. The latter is moreover said to be called by some of the Arabs, Azzeiz, which Major Price conjectures with much plausibility to be meant for Ezra or Esdras. In the reign of Bahman, the son of Asfendiar (supposed to be the Xerxes of the Greeks), and grandson of Gushtasp, in consequence of the murder of his ambassador by the ruler of the Jews, Bakhtunusser was again employed, or another of the same name, to execute the decrees of vengeance against that perverse and unhappy people.

' On this occasion, after having remained a twelvemonth at Babylon, to complete the strength and equipments of his army, Bakhtunusser proceeded into Syria, placing his advanced guard under the orders of one of the sons, or probably descendants of Senakhreïb, or Senacherib, at this period exercising a subordinate government at Mossoul. He followed in person with the main body, spreading desolation and destruction in the course of his march all the way to Jerusalem. On his approach to the city, he is described to have ordered that every soldier in his army should fill his buckler with the sand of the desert; so that on their arrival, casting it up against the walls, and over the town, the place was speedily overwhelmed under one vast heap of earth and sand. Having thus consummated the destruction of Beyt-ul-mûkodess, the house of the most holy, Jerusalem, so called by the Asiatics, Bakhtunusser returned into Irâk with his numerous captives, putting to death the children of the king, whose name is said to have been Youshai, the son of Yaïakeim (it should be the reverse, Jehoiakim the son of Josiah). The captive king was, however, conveyed to the presence of Bohmen, in the interior of the Persian empire, by whom he was also punished with death, for the assassination of his ambassador.

' For his services in the destruction of Jerusalem, his sovereign conferred upon Bakhtunusser the government of Babylon and of all Irâk, together with the neighbouring territories, to the utmost limits of the west. Of the Jewish captives, Bakhtunusser now selected ten thousand of the children and servants of the Prophets, whom he immediately employed in different branches of the government; and among these was the prophet Daniel, at this period but a child, whom he retained in immediate attendance on his own person. After ruling over the territories on the Tigris and Euphrates for a

period of forty years, Bakhtunusser then died, and was succeeded by a son of the name of Lemrouje, who was confirmed in his authority by the sanction of the Great King,—that is of Bohmen, the son of Asfendiar, also known by the name of Ardesheir Derrauzdust, and not unreasonably considered to have been the same with the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks.

‘ On the death of Lemrouje, who is said to have held the government of Babylon and Irâk, or Chaldaea, for a period of twenty years, he was succeeded by his son Bellet, or Balt-un-nusser. But a short time afterwards, when intelligence of the accession of this latter was announced to Bohmen, that monarch despatched Dareious the Sage, one of those who had accompanied Bakhtunusser in the expedition to Jerusalem, to put Bellet-un-nusser [quere Balshazzar] to death, and take possession of his government. This was carried into execution accordingly, and the government of Irâk was confirmed to the same Dareious. Some time afterwards, the countries beyond the Indus, which had been previously subject to the authority of Bohmen, revolted against his government: and Ahatoutous, or *Ahatoutoush*, another of the council employed to accompany Bakhtunusser, was sent with a great army to reduce the Hindûes to their obedience. This service having also been successfully achieved, the government of Hindûstaun was conferred upon the victorious general.

‘ Not long subsequent to this, moreover, Dareious, the Lieutenant of Pabel and Irâk, dying, after a just and virtuous administration, the government of those provinces was also allotted to *Ahatoutous*; with authority to commit the affairs of Hindûstaun to the superintendance of a deputy, and a charge to fix his own residence in Irâk, as lying in the centre of the then known world. Proceeding into Irâk, accordingly, and having there firmly established his authority, Ahatoutous had furthermore the satisfaction to see the provinces under his control rendered prosperous and happy. We are at the same time informed, that he treated the unfortunate Jewish captives with great indulgence, many of whom he generously set at large.

‘ To continue the subject a little further, it appears that this illustrious personage had, for some offence or other, been induced to command the death of his wife; and, in her place, to choose another from among the children of Israel, a woman of great beauty, whose name was Aysser, and whom we can have no difficulty in discovering to be the Esther of Holy Writ; and the offspring of this union was a son of the name of Keyresh, or Koresh (Cyrus). The author proceeds to state, that Ahatoutous survived these events for a period of fourteen years, during which his consort found means to introduce into the royal household, and into places of trust and confidence about her person, great numbers of her countrymen; alleging that, independently of their common origin, they were entitled to her protection by their unrivalled skill in every branch of knowledge. Hence, the Jewish exiles were admitted to the highest rank in the estimation of Ahatoutoush, although, apprehensive of the displeasure of Bohmen, he could not yet venture to restore them to their country.

* On the death of Ahatoutoush, whom we can no longer hesitate to identify with Ahasuerus, his son Keyresh assumed the government, in which he was confirmed by Bohmen. Naturally inheriting from his mother a disposition favourable to the Jews, Keyresh continued to them, in an increased degree, the indulgent treatment which they had experienced from his father. At this period, Daniel was well advanced in years, and God Almighty had vouchsafed to bestow upon him the spirit of prophecy; which he now employed to convert the benefactor of his nation to the true religion of the prophets and patriarchs of the ancient world. In consequence of this, Keyresh immediately forsook the rites of fire-worship, and became a believer. Nevertheless, there existed still an expediency for concealing his conversion from the Great King; but the Persian monarch dying at the expiration of thirteen years more, concealment was no longer necessary, and Keyresh openly proclaimed his conversion to the faith of Daniel, calling upon the whole of his people to follow the example, and to embrace the only true religion. Daniel was authorized, at the same time, with unlimited power, to bring the whole Assyrian nation under the dispensation of the Tourâiet, or Law of Moses.

* Thus far successful in the object of his divine mission, Daniel next requested of Keyresh, that he might be permitted to proceed to Jerusalem, for the purpose of rebuilding the city, and restoring the Temple of God. In this, however, he was destined to be disappointed; for, though the refusal was given in terms the most flattering, namely, that though his nation should possess a thousand others of equal prudence and virtue with himself, yet he could not spare him,—the prince would not admit of his departure. The other exiles of the Jewish nation were, however, allowed without restraint to return to their country, and to re-inhabit the solitary dwellings of their sacred city; and it was not until the expiration of twenty years afterwards, on the death of Keyresh, that Daniel obtained, what he had so long aspired after, an opportunity to revisit the metropolis of his fathers, where he piously devoted himself for the remainder of his days to the worship of the Living God. This, observes our author, from its commencement to its close, is all that we have been able to collect of the history of Bakhtunusser, as far as regards the fate of the Jews; from whence it appears, that the city of Jerusalem was twice destroyed by that inexorable conqueror; once, as we have seen, during the reign of Lohorasp, who is described by other authors to have been the grand-nephew of Key Kawuss; and once under Bohmen, the son of Asfendiar,—the Artaxerxes Longimanus of Grecian history.'

From this period to the time of Alexander of Macedon, called by the Persians Iscandeer, the history of Yemen is a blank. We have only the names of Abu Malek, the son of Shaumer Berraush, Akren, his successor, surnamed Tobbaa Sauny, and Zu Jeshaun, the son of Akren, who is said to have been contemporary of Darab II. (Darius Codomanus) and Iscandeer.

Soon after the time of Alexander, (according to the authorities cited by Sale in his historical sketch prefixed to the Koran,) a catastrophe took place in the kingdom of Yemen, which led to the emigration of eight tribes, and the foundation of the kingdoms of Ghassan and Heirah. ‘Abdus-Shemss having built the city from him called Saba, and afterwards Mareb, made a vast mound or reservoir to receive the water which came down from the mountains, not only for the use of the inhabitants and watering the land, but also to keep the country they had subjected in greater awe by being masters of the water. This building stood like a mountain above the city, and was by them esteemed so strong, that they were in no apprehension of its ever falling. This water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid that many of the inhabitants had their houses built upon it. Every family had a portion of this water distributed by aqueducts. But at length, God being highly displeased at their great pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them, sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night, while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people.’ No specific date is assigned to this catastrophe, which is stated to have led to the emigration of several whole tribes; a circumstance not likely to have been produced by such an event. Merab, in fact, was not destroyed at the time of the Roman invasion of the peninsula in the reign of Caligula, for it is stated to have been at that period six miles in circumference, and its destruction is ascribed by other writers to these foreigners. According to Abulfeda, it had not recovered from its overthrow so long after as the fourteenth century. If there be any truth in the story of the bursting of the reservoir, it was very probably effected by the enemy; but it is not improbable, that the mighty flood which the Arabian historians speak of, was no other than the Roman army itself, concerning the presence of which in their country, the influence of national pride has led them to observe a total silence. The emigration, too, which is said to have followed the inundation, is more satisfactorily explained by referring it to the desolation spread by the invaders. Aelius Gallus, the Roman general, is recorded to have landed near Medinah, and to have marched nearly a thousand miles into the region between Mareb, the capital of the Sabaeans, and the sea, reducing, in his progress, several cities. He must, if so, have marched through nearly the whole of Hedjaz, and then probably, after traversing the Tehama or *tierra caliente* of Yemen, have turned up into the mountains near Loheia. He is acknowledged by Pliny to have

been the only one that ever led a Roman force into this country, and 'the legions of Augustus,' says Gibbon, 'melted away in disease and lassitude.' The Arabian capital, however, was destroyed, and with it, apparently, fell the pomp and power of the Sabean monarchy of Yemen, after having existed, under various dynasties, for a period, reckoning from Abdus-Shemss, of above 2000 years, or 1600, reckoning from Hareth ul Rayesh.

We have now, so far as our materials have enabled us, brought down the history of Yemen to the Christian era, and have succeeded, we flatter ourselves, in making out something like an intelligent and consistent, though necessarily defective sketch, from the confused accounts of the native chroniclers. It remains for us to examine the period intervening between the Advent of our Lord and the birth of the Koreishite Impostor; but our readers will have had enough of Arabian history for the present. We may, perhaps, resume the subject. In the mean time, we must express our acknowledgements to the learned and laborious Translator for this opportunity of consulting the materials he has brought forward. We can easily conceive that it must have cost him no small labour and pains to make these abstracts, imperfect as he confesses them to be. Although the public in general may not take a lively interest in such inquiries, literary men will appreciate his services, and be thankful for this contribution to the fund of historical information. We shall be very glad if the hints and suggestions we have thrown out as we went along, should enable him, by following up those hints as a clew, to throw further light on this portion of ancient history.

Att. V. Jerusalem Delivered; an Epic Poem, in Twenty Cantos, translated into English Spenserian Verse from the Italian of Tasso; together with a Life of the Author, interspersed with Translations of his Verses to the Princess Leonora of Este; and a List of English Crusaders. By J. H. Wiffen. In 2 vols. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. clvi. 468. London. 1824.

WE have recently had occasion, in noticing M. Sismondi's Historical View of Italian Literature, to advert to the celebrated poem of which M. Wiffen has here presented to us a new and elegant translation. We shall take the present opportunity to offer a few additional remarks on the two different styles of poetry, the romantic and the classical, which had at that period their contending partisans.

In the sixteenth century, the Romantic poetry was paramount in Italy. The *chevaleresque* fictions, imitated by Tasso in the *Rinaldo*, influenced greatly the design and embellishments of his great epic work. The outline, according to M. Sismondi, is classical ; the filling up romantic. It was 'conceived in the spirit of antiquity, and executed in that of the middle ages. The objections made by Garzaga, Sperone, and their co-revisers to the *Gerusalemme Liberata* before its publication, and the sorry wit launched by the *Della Crusca* academicians against the dialogue of Pellegrino,* distressed poor Tasso dreadfully. Nor has the controversy about the claims of the Classics and the Romantics yet been dropped in Italy.

Four different origins of the poetry of Romance have been contended for. Mallet and Percy derived it from the Scandinavians. Warton fancies that the *chevaleresque* tales, the offspring of Arabian imagination, were introduced by the Saracens in the eighth century into Spain, and, kindling the imagination in their progress, were diffused through Europe. This system, accounting for the coincidence between the Scandinavian and the Oriental fictions from an old Scaldic fable which brings Odin out of the East, makes the stream of romance, running 'in two distinct and widely different channels, receive, 'in its double course, the various impressions, on the one hand, 'of the enthusiasm of northern courage ; on the other, of all 'the brilliancy and voluptuousness, the extravagance and caprice, and the occasional sublimity, also, of southern genius.' According to Dr Leyden, this style of poetry was indigenous in Britanny ; while Dr. Southey, developing a system formerly laid down, traces the spells, enchantments, giants, dwarfs, griffins, hippocrits, and magic structures of the metrical tales to classic sources. Without staying at present to examine any of these theories, we shall endeavour to fix the distinctive nature and respective claims of the Classic and Romantic poetry. The Germans first came to the conclusion, that each style is excellent in its kind. We assent to their conclusion ; although we do not admit the correctness of the position, that any one emotion runs through them so predominantly as to determine their opposite character.

Schlegel adopts the theory which makes the character of the classic poetry consist in gayety, the character of the romantic,

* Crescembini gives an account of the books written on the controversy raised by the dialogue of Pellegrino.—*Volgar Poesia. Venezia. 1790. Vol. II. pp. 453—9.* See Tiraboschi. *Storia della Poes. Ital. Vol. III.*

in melancholy. The Greeks, living in the full health of existence, under a genial sky, with exquisitely susceptible senses, and without any distinct belief in immortality, gave into a refined sensuality. The stern aspect of nature in the Northern climes, threw man back upon himself; and Christianity came in aid of the interior sense. ‘The religion of the senses,’ he continues, ‘had only in view the possession of outward and perishable blessings; and immortality, in so far as it was believed, appeared in an obscure distance, like a shadow, a faint dream of its bright and vivid futurity. The very reverse of all this is the case with the Christian; every thing finite and mortal is lost in the contemplation of infinity; life becomes a shadow and darkness, and the first dawning of our real existence opens in the world beyond the grave. Hence, the poetry of the ancients was the poetry of enjoyment; ours is that of desire. The former had its foundation in the scene which is present, while the latter hovers between recollection and hope.’

If this representation were accurate, gayety should be amply shewn by Pindar, who says that lyric poetry was used to raise it.

Χαίρω δέ, πρόσφορον

Εγώ μὲν ἔγω χόμπου, οἵς ιπ' ἀοι—

—δαις δ' αὐγὴ τωδύνοντος καὶ τις κάματος

Ων xiv.

Nemea. Od. VIII. 83—6.

Pindar is not merely the most moral poet of antiquity; he teaches the doctrine of future bliss and misery as awarded to the good or the wicked. The dreadful images which he employs for portraying the abode of the wicked, and the imaginative embellishments of the poetic heaven, were Schlegel's theory true, that the gayety of the Greek poetry arises from the exclusion of any notions of a future life, must have awaked emotions precisely the reverse of mirthful. His lyric hymns taught the people to deem themselves happy when they had wealth and fame; but they represented misfortune as impending over the heads of mortals by a hair. It would require a contempt of the morrow more magnanimous than the theory charges on ‘these old down-looking Greeks,’ to derive food for mirth from such pictures. And the mirth would become madness, if it could be excited by such monitions as he has given respecting the shortness of life, in images which might seem to put all festal gayety to flight, before the emotions, joyous or sad, inspired by the state beyond death.

But we need seek no better proof of the incorrectness of Schlegel's theory, than his own notion of the essence of the Greek tragedy. He says:

* Inward liberty and external necessity are the two poles of the tragic world. Each of these ideas can appear in the most perfect manner only by contrast with the other. As the feeling of internal dignity elevates the man above the unlimited dominion of impulse and native instinct, and, in a word, absolves him from the guardianship of nature, so, the Necessity which he must also recognise, ought to be no mere natural necessity, but to lie beyond the world of sense, in the abyss of infinitude ; and it must, consequently, be represented as the universal power of fate. Hence, it extends also to the world of the gods : for the Grecian gods are mere powers of nature, and although unmeasurably higher than mortal man, yet, compared with infinitude, they are on an equal footing with himself.'

The contest between an omnipotent principle pervading all nature, and the greatest created powers,—a contest dreadfully grand from the potent spiritual energies engaged in it, and carried on with as complete certainty as to the ultimate result, as if the mighty agent had to war with a few helpless *fantoccini* figures,—when exhibited, with impressive theatrical aids, before large assemblies, must have had an effect the very opposite of gayety. No ideal portraiture of suffering could be better fitted to awake tragic emotions than the dramas of Æschylus. The representation of Prometheus, chained to a naked rock, visited by all the great Beings in the Universe, resisting grandly 'the combined and inexorable powers of nature,' may be called tragedy itself. The figures which Sophocles brought on the stage were less gigantic ; yet, Antigone regretting the necessity of giving up the enjoyments which the gods scatter through life ; Ajax wrestling with fate, rejecting all pity, and therefore wakening it the more ; and Oedipus fixing his doom by the very things he does to avoid it, raised feelings less grand, but more pathetic, than the Titans of Æschylus, inasmuch as the struggle between human wills and the dreadful power that warred with and subdued all things, came more home to their 'business and bosoms.'

That part of the theory which relates to the Chevaleresque poetry, is not less incorrect. A vein of gayety runs through the romances of Chivalry ; the marvels must have raised absolute laughter. The Italian romances, too, are free from melancholy. Pulci is alternately '*bas et burlesque, sérieux et plat.*' Boiardo and Ariosto are the very spoilt children of imagination. A kind of melancholy pervades a great part of the popular German poetry, but does not give a character to the Spanish, Italian, or English romantic literature.

The elements of poetry are the same in every age. The

chevaleresque poetry, like the classic, has been wrought on by religion, mental habitudes, and political institutions. The supernatural character of the Scandinavian fictions has had a great influence on the poetry of all the romantic writers. The feelings elicited by the discoveries of Christianity, (and we do not stay to determine whether they be just subjects of imaginative embellishment,) should be exultant: the Christian poet, if he treat of terrene subjects, will drop tears over the dark parts of our nature; but his songs, when he treats of all that is good and gentle, will be joyous. Christianity, however, has operated on the romantic poetry most in the way of indirect influence; it has given refinement to taste by its genial influence on the social affections, and purified the tone of moral feeling. Christianity, the Gothic chivalry, the love of liberty kept up during a war of centuries, the sublime enthusiasm of the North, the voluptuousness of the South, and the Saracenic gorgeousness, were all wrought into the Spanish poetry, before its native spirit died away after the death of Philip IV. It would be an interesting speculation to trace the causes which have acted on and modified the poetry of the several European nations.

Schlegel shews, that, of the three unities on which the French critics lay such stress, the unity of action only was clearly laid down by Aristotle; that the unity of time and the unity of place were ill observed by the Greeks, while the unity of interest, which lies much deeper, is observed by Shakspeare and the writers of his school. The French poets have set themselves to imitate the dramatic simplicity of the Greeks. But the modern poet who attempts to dramatize a classic fable, must keep to the modes of thinking, the religious belief, and the simple manners of the heroic age. 'Instead of this,' remarks Schlegel, 'the French poets have given to their mythological heroes and heroines, the refinement of the fashionable world, and the court manners of the present day. Because those heroes were princes, (shepherds of the people, Homer calls them), they have given such descriptions of their situations and views as could correspond only to the calculating policy of a different age, and have not merely set antiquarian learning at defiance, but have also violated every thing like characteristical costume. In Phædra, this princess is to be declared regent till the minor come of age after the supposed death of Theseus. How could this be compatible with the relations of the Grecian women of that day? It brings us down to the times of Cleopatra. Hermione remains alone, without the protection of a brother or a father, at the court

of Pyrrhus, nay, even in his palace ; and yet, she is not married to him. With the ancients, and not merely in the Homeric age, marriage consisted in receiving the bride into the house of the bridegroom. . . . How unlike is the Achilles of Racine's Iphigenia to the Achilles of Homer ! The gallantry ascribed to him is not merely a sin against Homer, but it renders the whole story improbable.' In 'idealizing' their own history, the French writers would find themselves at home ; and their readers might give free vent to their sympathies. Racine and Voltaire have succeeded, indeed, in spite of their own canons ; but that should not blind us to the absurdity of their binding themselves in Greek fetters.

The Classic and the Romantic poetry, then, are excellent each in its kind ; but the endeavour to make modern poetry classical is as useless as it is misjudged. The design, the machinery, and the embellishments of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, must be judged of, not by the peculiarities of the Greek writers, but by the indestructible principles of poetry. Both the advocates of the Classical and of the Romantic style agree, that unity of action, or at least of interest, should run through every work of art. Tasso's discourses on Heroic Poetry shew that he deemed the observance of Aristotle's rules indispensable in an epic poem. The objection made by his revisers, that the introduction of two heroes destroyed the unity of the action, was particularly annoying to the disciple of the Stagyrite. His answer was : ' Godfrey was chosen Captain by God ; and he had need of Rinaldo, as the workman has need of his tools.'

A more serious objection was brought forward by one of his critics, against the love scenes as too warmly coloured. There is hardly a greater crime than perverting genius to the purpose of inflaming the bad propensities of our nature. But Tasso's portraiture of Erminia has not this tendency. Her love is a pure and gentle passion. The descriptions in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth cantos are of a different character. They are drawn by way of exposing the potent charms of Armida. The distinction between a portraiture of vice, that shall operate as a dissuasive from it, and one that shall have a seductive tendency, it is not very ready to define. Tasso's moral purity and religious fervor were pledges that his descriptions would not be intended to conceal any erotic poison ; and we may admit that they will have no bad effect on well constituted minds. Camoens and Spenser, however, who, in painting similar scenes, have run into licentiousness, shew how nearly such descriptions border on immorality.

Tasso's revisers objected to his marvels on the ground of their incredibility: their incongruous character is a more serious offence.* If we viewed the Crusades in the light in which Tasso drew them, we should not be prepared to deny that the Almighty Ruler of the universe might have interfered in the way of aiding the Christians or of confounding the Infidels; but looking at them in their true light, we must believe that the powers of darkness would rather have taken part with the Crusaders against the Moslems, inasmuch as the latter had made by far the least progress in evil, and that if the Supreme Being had made any visible manifestations of his power, they would have been in shapes of wrath to drive away the Crusaders from the Holy City.

As the epic action lay in the land of magic and *diablerie*, we should not quarrel exceedingly with the enchantments, had they been made a distinct poetic machinery. We might have great doubts as to the propriety of taking the machinery of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* from a foreign mythology; they are admissible, however, only as poetic embellishments. Tasso's defence of them was, 'The Crusaders gave credence to them.' But the Crusaders believed a great number of foolish things, which are not fit subjects for poetry. Spiritual agents of all kinds figure in the fourth canto. It is an olio of machinery; a grotesque mosaic work of heterogeneous materials. It is not very clear, whether the God introduced be the Pagan or the Christian Deity. The demons are clearly classical; Pluto gets his knowledge from the Bible; and, to complete the incongruity, the magic belongs to an oriental mythology.

The grand objection, however, to Tasso's poem is, the false view which it gives of the achievement which it celebrates. For this, however, the poet is not to blame, but the spirit of the times. What Lord Bacon says of fiction, may be applied to his performance: it 'accommodates the show of things to 'the desires of the mind.' In reading the *Jerusalem Delivered*, we must lay aside history, and resign ourselves to imagination. We must forget that the crimes and cruelties of the Croises, as well as their fanaticism, sank them below the Moslems with whom they contended for the occupation of the holy places; and we must strive to believe, that the delivery of Jerusalem was an object worthy of the interposition of the highest intelli-

* Boileau justly remarks with regard to such embellishments,

'De la foy d'un Chrestien les mystères terribles
D'ornemens égayés ne sont point susceptibles.'

gences. This is not a larger demand upon the imagination than is made by the poets of antiquity.

The two essential qualities of a good translation are fidelity and elegance. It should give the sense of the original in elegant, idiomatic language, that shall be an accurate copy, not merely of the drawing and grouping, but of the colouring of the original.

R. C.'s (Carew's, we believe) translation of the first five cantos of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, published in 1594, is in most cases faithful. It is often, indeed, so baldly literal as to give one the notion of the Italian words having been 'done' into English ones, without any definite conception of their meaning. It is quite deficient in elegance; its language, without possessing the excellence of the best age of our literature, and frequently obscure from the half guess at the meaning of the original, has become still less intelligible from age. To Sir George Turberville's translation, existing only in manuscript, we have not access. Fairfax's 'Godfrey of Bouillon,' published in 1600, lays no claim to praise on the ground of fidelity. He works up parts of Tasso's poem into passages which Tasso would hardly recognise as his. He omits one circumstance in a description, substitutes another, and ekes out a stanza with an original fancy, sometimes happy, at other times ludicrous. Literary opinions are sometimes taken upon trust. 'The ease and freedom of Fairfax,' says Dr. Aikin, 'are the more extraordinary, as he has made a point of rendering the original line by line.' We are absolutely certain that Dr. Aikin could never have collated two stanzas of the translation with the original. Hooke's translation of the first Canto, in heroic verse, published in 1738, is wretched; and Brooke's version of the first three, published in the same year, is grandiloquent, paraphrastic, and tawdrily gorgeous. Hoole's version has run through a number of editions; yet, we could scarcely imagine a work that should by any chance be popular, more deficient in every quality of a good translation.

The measure adopted by Mr. Cary in his masterly translation of Dante has allowed him to be eminently literal; and Mr. Rose, in the *ottava rima*, has followed Ariosto closely. Mr. Wiffen's adoption of the Spenserian stanza has prevented his giving a translation of Tasso at all approaching in faithfulness to the versions of these gentlemen. There are as many syllables in one stanza of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* as in a corresponding one in Mr. W.'s translation; but the soft Italian words have more syllables; and the greater compactness of the Spenserian verse, resulting from the necessity of throwing out little words that swell the Italian, but would spoil the

English measure, make it needful to fill about two lines of each translated stanza with new thoughts and images, or to work out the original thoughts and images into greater breadth. The amplification is generally done with good taste; and if Mr. W.'s translation is not so faithful as to come up to our *beau idéal* of a translation, it is very elegant. Few translations, in any language, give a better notion of the spirit of the original. If Mr. W. had adopted the *ottava rima*, his work would have been a better version, but might not have been so fine a poem.

We have carefully collated the first two cantos, and the misconceptions of the meaning which we have detected, are few and unimportant. The following are some of the principal.

' Trusting our fortunes to a foreign strand
Where battle rages and wild ocean beats,' &c. Canto I. 22.

Literally,—' We have not exposed life to the unfaithful sea, or
' to perils of distant war.' The ' mar infido,' does not refer, as
Mr. W. makes it, to the ' foreign strand.'

' Sibyl divine! that in thy guardian cell
Treasures all story, foe to Night and Time!
Aid me with all thine intellect, to tell,' &c. Canto I. 36.

It would be hard to tell who this sibyl is; and when to her horrent attributes, smiling is appended, few would fancy that the poet's mind is meant. Yet so it is. Literally—' Mind,
' enemy of years and of oblivion, keeper and dispenser of the
' things' (of the species, the commentators say, according to the notions of the Peripatetics), ' may thy reason so avail me,
' that I may tell,' &c.

' Thy shield scarce lifted, and thy sword in rust.' Canto I. 51.
The shield should not be painted lifted at all, to make its introduction consistent with Tasso's image.

' Supremely beautiful, but that she made
Never her care, or beauty only weighed
In worth with virtue.' Canto II. 14.

This is hardly faithful to the original.

—————' ma sua beltà non cura,
O tanto sol, quant' onestà sen fregi.'

Literally, ' But she does not value her beauty, or only so much
' as virtue may set itself off by it.'

' " The urged offence I own, the doomed offender bring."'
Canto II. 19.

Sophronia does not, in this part of her address, own she stole

the image.' She merely says, she has come to give him the offender.

' I come to show, and to you bound to grieve

The wight you seeke, and did you so aggrieve.'

Carew's Translation.

' But if our sins in secret judgment doom

Us of all aid bereft to pass away,' &c. Canto II. 86.

Literally, ' But when it (the hand of God) deprives us of its aid, either for our sins, or for secret reasons : ' per gli error nostri, o per giudicii occulti : ' our sins,' and ' secret reasons,' are here made distinct causes of doom.

We shall now extract as specimens, a few passages which have struck us as the most happy. It is not the least of Mr. W.'s excellences, that he rises with his Author.

' Meanwhile the sun in the celestial fields
 Perpetually advancing, rose in height,
 And struck from sparkling helms and flaming shields
 Clear, trembling lustres that torment the sight ;
 The broad air burns with glory like a bright
 And boundless conflagration ; neighings shrill
 From fierce steeds ramping in their wild delight,
 Mix with the sound of smitten steel, and fill
 The deafened country round, hill answering loud to hill.'

Canto I. 73.

Here is the topography of Jerusalem, as correct as it is beautiful.

' On two bold hills Jerusalem is seen,
 Of size unequal, face to face opposed ;
 A wide and pleasant valley lies between,
 Dividing hill from hill ; three sides the coast
 Lies craggy, difficult, and high, disposed
 In steep acclivities, the fourth is cast
 In gentlest undulations, and enclosed
 By walls of height insuperable and vast,
 That seem to scale the sky, and brave the Arctic blast.

' Cisterns for rain, canals, and living fountains
 Make glad the thirsting city ; but around,
 Barren, and bare, and herbless are the mountains,
 And scarce a solitary flower is found
 To blossom near ; no sylvans sun-embrowned
 Shut out the sultry noon ; no valley shines
 With lapse of lakes, nor falling waters sound ;
 One forest yet the blue horizon lines,
 Black with the baleful shade of cypresses and pines.'

Canto III. 55, 56.

Titian might have liked to study the portrait of Armida.

‘Never did Greece or Italy behold
A form to fancy and to taste more dear!
At times, the white veil dims her locks of gold,
At times, in bright relief they reappear:
Thus, when the stormy skies begin to clear,
Now through transparent clouds the sunshine gleams,
Now, issuing from its shrine, the gorgeous Sphere
Lights up the vales, flowers, mountains, leaves, and streams,
With a diviner day—the spirit of bright beams.’

‘New ringlets form the flowing winds amid
The natural curls of her resplendent hair;
Her blue eye its soft glance withhold, and hid
Are all Love’s treasures with a miser’s care;
The Rival Roses upon cheeks more fair
Than morning light, their mingling tints dispose,
But on her lovely lips, from whence the air
Of paradise exhales, the crimson rose
Its whole voluptuous bloom in peerless beauty throws.’

Canto IV. 29, 30.

The imagery employed to describe Armida’s cheeks flushed by the tears which Godfrey’s refusal drew, is deformed by a conceit, but the exquisite beauty of the language redeems it.

‘Her fresh cheeks, sprinkled with those living showers,
Which to her vesture’s hem, down gliding, cling,
Appear like jasmine and carnation flowers
Humid with May-dews, when romantic Spring
In shadow of the green leaves whispering,
Spreads their closed bosoms to the laughing air;—
Flowers—to which sweet Aurora oft takes wing,
Which with gay hand she culls with such fond care
In morn’s melodious prime, to bind her vagrant hair.

‘But the clear drops that thick as stars of night
On those fresh cheeks and on that heaving breast
Sparkle, have all th’ effect of fire, and light
A secret flame in each beholder’s breast;
Oh Love! the marvellous rod by thee possessed,
For ever powerful over Nature, draws
Lightning from tears, and gives to grief a zest
Beyond the bliss of smiles.—but nature’s laws
Its magic more than quells in this thy darling’s cause.’

Canto IV. 75, 76.

The Soldan sees the boy Lesbin dying.

‘His graceful head fell with an air so meek,
Life’s flitting sunshine languished into night
O'er his blue eye and on the suffering cheek,

Strewed by Death's Angel in his love, the white
 Rose breathed so sweetly, that in pride's despite
 His marble heart was touched, and from his brain
 In midst of rage the tears gushed big and bright;
 What! can he weep, who saw his ancient reign
 Pass by without one tear t'attest his parting pain?"

Canto IX. 86.

Some portions, made intelligible by a few narrative hints, of the beautiful episode of Sophronia and Olindo, will be a fairer specimen of Mr. Wiffen's translation.

' Of generous thoughts and principles sublime,
 Amongst them in the city lived a maid,
 The flower of virgins, in her ripest prime,
 Supremely beautiful, but that she made
 Never her care, or beauty only weighed
 In worth with virtue, and her worth acquired
 A deeper charm from blooming in the shade;
 Lovers she shunned, nor loved to be admired,
 But from their praises turned, and lived a life retired.

' Yet could not this coy vigilance prevent
 Th' admiring gaze and warm desires of one
 Tutored by Love, nor would fond Love consent
 To hide such lustrous beauty from the sun;
 Love, that through every change delight'st to run,
 The Proteus of the heart ! who now dost blind,
 Now roll the Argus eyes that nought can shun,
 Thou through a thousand gu~~ards~~ unseen dost wind,
 And to the chaste maids familiar access find !

' Sophronia her's, Olindo was his name;
 Born in one town, by one pure faith illumed;
 Modest—as she was beautiful, his flame
 Feared much, hoped little, and in nought presumed;
 He could not, or he durst not speak, but doomed
 To voiceless thought his passion; him she slighted,
 Saw not, or would not see; thus he consumed
 Beneath the vivid fire her beauty lighted;
 Either not seen, ill known, or, known, but ill requited.

' And thus it was, when like an omen drear
 That summoned all her kindred to the grave,
 The cruel mandate reached Sophronia's ear,
 Who, brave as bashful, yet discreet as brave,
 Mused how her people she from death might save;
 Courage inspired, but virginal alarm
 Repressed the thought, till maiden shyness gave
 Place to resolve, or joined to share the harm;
 Boldness awoke her shame, shame made her boldness charm.

' Alone amidst the crowd the maid proceeds,
Nor seeks to hide her beauty, nor display;
Downcast her eyes, close veiled in simple weeds,
With coy and graceful steps she takes her way;
So negligent yet nice, one scarce can say
If she her charms disdains, or would improve,
If chance or taste disposes her array;
Favoured by Heaven, by nature, and by love,
Her mere neglects of art most artificial prove.'

Canto II. 14—18.

She confesses to the king, that she had stolen the image of the virgin. He pronounces her doom. The next stanza, we think, is very beautiful.

' Doomed in tormenting fire to die, they lay
Hands on the maid; her arms with rough cords twining,
Rudely her mantle chaste they tear away,
And the white veil that o'er her drooped declining;
This she endured in silence unrepining.
Yet her firm breast faint virgin tremors shook,
And her warm cheek, Aurora's late outshining,
Waned into whiteness, and a colour took
Like that of the pale rose, or lily of the brook.

' The crowd collect; the sentence is divulged;
With them Olindo comes, by pity swayed:
It might be that the youth the thought indulged,
What if his own Sophronia were the maid;
There stand the busy officers arrayed
For the last act, here swift the flames arise;
But when the fettered beauty stands displayed
To the full gaze of his inquiring eyes,—
Tis she! he bursts through all, the crowd before him flies.

' Aloud he calls; " To her, oh not to her
This crime belongs, though frenzy may mislead !
She planned not, dared not, could not, king, incur
Sole and unskilled the guilt of such a deed !
How lull the guards, or with what cunning speed
The sacred weight of silver from its cell ?
The theft was mine ! my right it is to bleed !"
Alas for him ! how wildly and how well
He loved the unloving maid, let this avowal tell.'

Canto II. 25—28.

He tells how he had stolen the image. The tyrant dooms them both to die. At the stake the lover murmurs out—

—“ Oh ! this doom would be indeed most blest,
 My sharpest sufferings blandishments divine,
 Might I but be permitted, breast to breast,
 On thy sweet lips my spirit to resign ;
 If thou too, panting toward one common shrine,
 Wouldst the next happy instant parting spend
 Thy latest sighs in sympathy on mine ! ”
 Sorrowing he spoke ; she, when his plaints had end,
 Did thus his fond discourse most sweetly reprehend.

“ Far other aspirations, other plaints
 Than these, dear friend, the solemn hour should claim ;
 Think what reward God offers to his saints ;
 Let meek repentance raise a loftier aim ;
 These torturing fires if suffered in his name,
 Will, bland as zephyrs, waft us to the blest ;
 Regard the sun, how beautiful his flame !
 How fine a sky invites him to the west !
 These both console our pangs, and summon us to rest.”

‘ The Pagans lifting up their voices, wept ;
 In stifled sorrow wept the Christians too ;
 Ev'n the stern king was touched, a softness crept
 O'er his fierce heart, ennobling, pure, and new ;
 He felt, disdained it, struggled to subdue,
 And lest his wavering firmness should relent,
 Turned his proud gaze away, and thence withdrew ;
 Sophronia's spirit only was unbent ;
 She sole lamented not, for whom all else lament.’

‘ In midst of their distress,’ Clorinda, in the guise of a knight, approaches, and, at her intercession, the lovers are pardoned.

‘ Restored to life and liberty, how blest,
 How truly blest was young Olindo's fate !
 For sweet Sophronia's blushes might attest
 That love at length has touched her delicate
 And generous bosom ; from the stake in state
 They pass to the high altar,— sternly tried,
 In doom and love already made her mate,
 She now objects not to become his bride,
 And grateful live with him who would for her have died.’ p. 58.

The volume is beautifully printed, and is embellished with a fine portrait of Tasso, and some elegant vignettes.

- Art. VI.** 1. *Selections from the Works of the Latin Poets. With English Notes.* Vol. I. Horace. 12mo. pp. 220. London. 1824.
 2. *Latin Versification simplified, and rendered easy to the young Student, in a graduated Series of Exercises.* By John Carey, L.L.D. 12mo. pp. 74. Price 2s. London. 1825.
 3. *Key to Ditto.* 12mo. pp. 68. Price 2s. 6d. London. 1825.

WE have placed these useful little works together, as they are alike intended for elementary instruction, and, on the whole, merit our decided commendation, both as it respects design and execution. The volume which commences the 'Selections,' consists of an expurgated series of transcripts from the works of Horace; the choice is judiciously made, the English notes are elucidatory of interesting points, and much care has been taken in the illustration of the lyric metres. If the ensuing volumes be executed as carefully as the specimen before us appears to be, on such a perusal as would satisfy ourselves in its adoption, they will be highly acceptable as auxiliaries in the business of education.

Dr. Carey's metrical tract bears the same character of knowledge and practical application which distinguishes his other valuable works on Latin prosody. A due attention to theory, while following up its details, will carry a pupil to a respectable point of progress in scanning. After all, however, it strikes us that there is a deficiency in our modes of prosodical instruction, which can only be supplied by the modified use of a musical notation. We have time without cadence, and whatever uncertainty may prevail respecting the classical adaptation of the latter, without some application of its principles, the former can never be adequately attained.

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- Art. VII.** *The Husbandman's Calling, shewing the Excellencies, Temptations, Graces, and Duties of the Christian Husbandman.* By Richard Steele, A.M. With an Account of the Author, by the Rev. John Brown, Whitburn. 12mo. Price 3s. 6d. Edinb. 1825.

THE Author of this treatise was, if we mistake not, the father of the celebrated Sir Richard Steele, although Mr. Brown does not seem to be aware of the circumstance. Well would it have been for that accomplished man, had he trod in the steps of his venerable parent. Mr. Steele's "Tradesman's Calling" has been often reprinted. His other works equally deserve to be better known. Few of the Nonconformist divines, of whom there has been of late so happy a 'resurrection,' stand higher with judicious readers. We cordially recommend the present re-publication.

ART. VIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

Dr. Johns, F.L.S. has just ready for publication, *Practical Botany*, consisting of Two Parts. The First Part contains an Introduction to the Linnean System; the Second the Genera of British Plants in a tabular form. By means of this work, the student is at once led to investigate any wild plant he may meet with. In the Introductory Part, the reader's attention is wholly confined to the essential parts of plants; the terms of the science are reduced to a comparatively small number, and these are explained in so simple a manner as to be readily understood by the most inexperienced learner. The arrangement of the generic characters in parallel columns is such as to admit of determining, on a cursory inspection, the resemblances and differences of the several families of plants.

On the 22d of November, will be published, *Time's Telescope*, for 1826; or, a Complete Guide to the Almanack, and the Astronomer's, Botanist's, and Naturalist's Guide for the Year, interspersed with a variety of Original Pieces by eminent living poets, with prefatory poems by Messrs. Wiffen and Howitt, and the Delta of Blackwood's Magazine. An Introduction will be prefixed, on the Physical Powers, the Intellectual Faculties, and the Moral Perceptions of Man, by Dr. Myers, and the volume will be embellished with a highly finished engraving, by Hawkesworth, after a picture of Correggio, and some Original Music, by Mr. Samuel Westley.

A New Medical and Surgical Dictionary, including the collateral branches of Philosophy and Natural History, as connected with Materia Medica, is in the press, from the pen of Mr. Forsyth, Author of the New London Medical Pocket Book, &c. Every advantage has equally been taken of the many recent improvements and discoveries in Medicine and Surgery, &c., by the introduction of various interesting facts, observations and words, not to be met with in any similar work now extant.

In the press, *Waterloo, or the British Minstrel*: a poem, in five cantos. By J. H. Bradfield.

Preparing for the press, *Facts and Fancies, or Mental Diversions*. By the Author of "Solace of an Invalid."

A new work, entitled, *The Compre-*

hensive Bible, adapted for Pulpit, Study, and Family Use, in one volume, 4to., is now in the course of publication. By W. Bagster. The Notes are numerous and valuable, never Polemical or Doctrinal, but wholly Philological or Explanatory. The illustration of the Doctrines of the Bible is resigned to the Parallel Passages, leaving the Scripture to explain itself on all doctrinal points, and for this important purpose all the Parallel Passages are embodied, from Dr. Blayney, (whose references are adopted by Bp. Mant and Dr. D'Oyley,) Canne, Brown, Bp. Wilson, Dr. A. Clarke, Scott, and those in Bagster's Polyglott; all of which, having been first arranged and adapted for ready reference, by the indefatigable Editor of this "Comprehensive Edition" of the Sacred Writings, are printed in two columns in the centre of the page. Three varieties are printing—small, large, and largest paper. The whole will be completed in about Seven Parts, and the entire price of the first size will not exceed 11. 10s.

Proposals have been issued for publishing, by subscription, under the sanction of the Directors of the London Missionary Society, *The Narrative of a Tour, by a Party of the Missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, around Hawaii, the principal of those Islands*. By the Rev. W. Ellis, Missionary from the Society and Sandwich Islands. The work will form one octavo volume, embellished with a map and other engravings.

Preparing for publication, *Pastoral Memorials*; being a Selection from the Manuscripts of the late Rev. John Ryland, D.D. of Bristol; with a Memoir of the Author, and a fac-simile of his hand-writing. In one large volume, 8vo. Price to Subscribers, 14s.

In the press, *Characters Contrasted; or, Character Modified by Education*. By the Author of the "Mirven Family." In one vol. 12mo.

On the first of November, will be published, the Rev. Robert Hall's Sermon on the Death of Dr. Ryland.

Just ready, *Memoirs of the late Rev. S. Morell, of Norwich*. By the Rev. J. Binney, of Newport. In one vol. 12mo.

The English-Gaelic and Gaelic-English Dictionary, which was nearly ready for publication, when destroyed at Mr. Moyes's fire, in Greville-street, last year,

is again printed, and will be published early in November. To it is appended, a Grammar of the Gaelic Language; the whole forming one large 4to. volume, containing nearly 1100 closely printed pages. This may be said to be the first Dictionary of the Gaelic ever published, all former attempts deserving no higher title than that of a Vocabulary. A great

portion of the impression, which is very limited, is subscribed for. It is dedicated, by permission, to the King.

Early in November, will be published, the First Part of a New Work, uniform in size to the *Percy Anecdotes*, with portraits, price 2s. 6d., under the title of *Laconics*; or, the Best Words of the Best Authors, with the authorities given.

ART. IX. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

EDUCATION.

Just published, *The Principal Roots of the Latin Language, simplified by a Display of their Incorporation into the English Tongue, with copious Notes; forming part of Mr. Hall's Intellectual System of Education* (as explained in a public Lecture delivered at Willis's Rooms, on Saturday, the 8th of May, 1824), whereby an Adult, previously unacquainted in the slightest degree with Latin, was enabled, in the short space of only Seven Days, to acquire so considerable a knowledge of the Latin Language, as to translate, parse, and scan, the whole of the First Book of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Royal 8vo. 8s. 6d.; or, 10s. bd.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Essay on the Nature and Structure of the Chinese Language; with suggestions on its more extensive study. By Thomas Myer, Trin. Col. Camb. 1s.

Sacred Harmonies; composed and arranged for three and four voices, with an accompaniment for the piano-forte or organ. By T. Edwards. 12s.

Lyra Sacra: Select Extracts from the Cathedral Music of the Church of England. Adapted for one, two, three, and four voices; with an accompaniment for the organ or piano forte. By the Rev. Jos. Jowett, M.A. Rector of Selsk Wilbrough. Part II. 7s. 6d.

A Vindication of the Proceedings of the Edinburgh Bible Society relative to the Apocrypha, against the aspersions of the Eclectic Review. 6d.

Remarks on the Controversy respecting the Apocrypha. Reprinted from the Eclectic Review. 6d.

Dr. Grey's *Memoria Technica*; or, Method of Artificial Memory applied to, and exemplified in the Sciences of History and Chronology; together with a New Appendix and Index Verborum. Revised, abridged, and adapted to general use, by John Henry Todd. Folio 8vo. 4s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

Aids to Reflection in the Formation of a Manly Character, on the several grounds of Prudence, Morality, and Religion; illustrated by select passages from our Elder Divines, especially from Archbishop Leighton. By S. T. Coleridge, Esq. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Reformation and the Papal System; or, Remarks on Two Letters upon those Subjects, in the Book of the Roman Catholic Church. 8vo. 1s. 6d. sd.

A Discourse on the Moral Influence of Trade, being one of a Course of Lectures on Moral Influence. By Jacob Kirkman Foster, of Rochdale. 8vo. 8d.

A Review of Nonconformity: a discourse delivered at the ordination of the Rev. J. Kennedy, at Bury, Lancashire. By John Ely, Rochdale. 1s.

TOPOGRAPHY.

Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan; including some Account of the Countries to the north-east of Persia; with Remarks upon the National Character, Government, and Resources of that Kingdom. By James B. Frazer, Author of a Tour in the Himala Mountains, &c. In one vol. 4to. with a new Map by Arrowsmith. 3l. 3s.

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